

THE IMPERIAL GAZETTEER OF INDIA.

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THIS book tries to present, within a small compass, an account of India and her people. The materials on which it is based are condensed from my larger works. In 1869, the Government of India directed me to execute a Statistical Survey of its dominions,—a vast enterprise, whose records now make 128 printed volumes, aggregating 60,000 pages. The scale of the operations, although by no means too elaborate for the administrative purposes for which they were designed, necessarily placed their results beyond the reach of the general public. The hundred volumes of *The Statistical Survey* were therefore reduced to a more compendious form as the twelve volumes of *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. The present book distils into one volume the essence of the whole.

I have elsewhere explained the mechanism by which the materials for the Statistical Survey were collected in each of the 240 Districts, or territorial units, of British India.¹ Without the help of a multitude of fellow-workers, the present volume could never have been written. It represents the fruit of a long process of continuous condensation. But in again acknowledging my indebtedness to brethren of my Service in India, I wish to specially commemorate the obligations which I also owe to a friend at home. Mr. J. S. Cotton, late Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, has rendered important aid at many stages of the work.

¹ See Preface to Volume I. of *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

Continuous condensation, although convenient to the reader, has its perils for the author. Many Indian topics are still open questions, with regard to which divergences of opinion may fairly exist. In some cases, I have been compelled by brevity to state my conclusions without setting forth the evidence on which they rest, and without any attempt to combat alternative views. In other matters, I have had to content myself with conveying a correct general impression, while omitting the modifying details. For I here endeavour to present an account, which shall be at once original and complete, of a continent inhabited by many more races and nations than Europe, in every stage of human development, from the polyandric tribes and hunting hamlets of the hill jungles, to the 'most complex commercial communities in the world. When I have had to expose old fables, or to substitute truth for long accepted errors, I clearly show my grounds for doing so. Thus, in setting aside the legend of Mahmúd the Idol-Breaker, I trace back the growth of the myth through the Persian Historians, to the contemporary narrative of Al Biruni (970-1029 A.D.). The calumnies against Jagannáth are corrected by the testimony of three centuries, from 1580, when Abul Fazl wrote, down to the police reports of 1870. Macaulay's somewhat fanciful story of Plassey has been told afresh in the words of Clive's own despatch. The history of Christianity in India is written, for the first time, from original sources and local inquiry.

But almost every period of Indian history forms an arena of controversy. Thus, in the early Sanskrit era, each date is the result of an intricate process of induction; the chapter on the Scythic inroads has been pieced together from the unfinished researches of the Archaeological Survey and from local investigations; the growth of Hinduism, as the religious and social nexus of the Indian races, is here for the first time written. In

attempting to reconstruct Indian history from its original sources in the fewest possible pages, I beg oriental scholars to believe that, although their individual views are not always set forth, they have been respectfully considered. I also pray the English reader to remember that, if he desires a more detailed treatment of the subjects of this volume, he may find it in my larger works.

W. W. H.

March 1886.

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VOWEL SOUNDS.

| | | |
|----|---------------------------------|---------|
| a | has the sound of <i>a</i> as in | rural. |
| á | has the sound of <i>a</i> as in | far. |
| e | has the vowel sound in | grey. |
| i | has the sound of <i>i</i> as in | police. |
| f | has the vowel sound in | pier. |
| o | has the sound of <i>o</i> as in | bone. |
| u | has the sound of <i>u</i> as in | bull. |
| ú | has the sound of <i>u</i> as in | sure. |
| ai | has the vowel sound in | lyre. |

accents have been used as sparingly as possible ; and omitted in such positions as initials or terminals as *pur*, where the Sanskrit family of alphabets takes the short vowel instead of the long Persian one. The accents over *i* and *u* have been omitted, to avoid confusing the ordinary English reader, when the juxtaposition of letters naturally gives them a long or open sound. No attempt has been made by the use of dotted consonants to distinguish between the dental and lingual *z*, or to represent similar refinements of Sanskrit pronunciation.

Where the double *oo* is used for *u*, or the double *ee* for *i*, and whenever the above vowel sounds are departed from, the reason is either that the Government has obtained a popular fixity of spelling, or that the Government has ordered the adoption of some special form.

I have borne in mind four things—First, that this work is intended for the ordinary English reader. Second, that the twenty-six characters of the English alphabet cannot possibly be made to represent the fifty letters or signs of the Indian alphabets, unless we resort to puzzling un-English devices of typography, such as dots under the consonants, curves above them, or italic letters in the middle of words. Third, that as such devices are unsuitable in a work of general reference, some compromise or sacrifice of scholarly accuracy to popular convenience becomes inevitable. Fourth, that a compromise to be defensible must be successful, and that the spelling of Indian places, while adhering to the Sanskrit vowel sounds, should be as little embarrassing as possible to the European eye.

W. W. H.

IMPERIAL GAZETTEER

OF

INDIA.

VOLUME VI.

INDIA.

CHAPTER I.—PHYSICAL ASPECTS.

INDIA forms a great irregular triangle, stretching southwards from Mid-Asia into the sea. Its northern base rests upon the Himálayan ranges; the chief part of its western side is washed by the Arabian Sea, and the chief part of its eastern side by the Bay of Bengal. It extends from the eighth to the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude; that is to say, from the hottest regions of the equator to far within the temperate zone. The capital, Calcutta, lies in $88\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ E. long.; so that when the sun sets at six o'clock there, it is just past mid-day in England. General outline.

The length of India from north to south, and its greatest breadth from east to west, are both about 1900 miles; but the triangle tapers with a pear-shaped curve to a point at Cape Comorin, its southern extremity. To this compact dominion the English have added, under the name of British Burma, the strip of country on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal. The whole territory thus described contains close on $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of square miles, and over 256 millions of inhabitants. India, therefore, has an area and a population about equal to the area and population of the whole of Europe, less Russia. Its people more than double Gibbon's estimate of 120 millions for all the races and nations which obeyed Imperial Rome. Dimensions.

This vast Asiatic peninsula has, from a very ancient period, been known to the external world by one form or other of the 'India.' Origin of the word.

name which it still bears. The early Indians did not themselves recognise any single designation for their numerous and diverse races; their nearest approach to a common appellation for India being *Bhārata-varsha*, the land of the *Bhāratas*, a noble warrior tribe which came from the north. But this term, although afterwards generalized, applied only to the basins of the Indus and the Ganges, and strictly speaking to only a part of them. The Indus river formed the first great landmark of nature which arrested the march of the peoples of Central Asia as they descended upon the plains of the Punjab. That mighty river impressed itself on the imagination of the ancient world. To the early comers from the high-lying camping grounds of inner Asia, it seemed a vast expanse of waters.

Sanskrit,
Zend, and
Greek
forms.

They called it in Sanskrit by the word which they gave to the ocean itself, *Sindhus* (from the root *syand*, 'to flow'): a name afterwards applied to the ocean-god (Varuna). The term extended itself to the country around the river, and in its plural form, *Sindhavas*, to the inhabitants thereof. The ancient Persians, softening the initial sibilant to an aspirate, called it *Hendu* in the Zend language: the Greeks, again softening the initial by omitting the aspirate altogether, derived from it their *Indikos* and *Indos*. These forms closely correspond to the ancient Persian word *Idhus*, which is used in the inscriptions of Darius for the dwellers on the Indus. But the native Indian form (*Sindhus*) was known to the Greeks, as is proved by the *Sinthos* of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, and by the distinct statement of Pliny, 'Indus incolis Sindus appellatus.' Virgil says, 'India mittit ebur.'

Buddhist
derivation
of 'In-tu.'

The eastern nations of Asia, like the western races of Europe, derived their name for India from the great river of the Punjab. The Buddhist pilgrims from China, during the first seven centuries of our era, usually travelled landward to Hindustán, skirting round the *Himálayas*, and entering the holy land of their faith by the north-western frontier of India. One of the most celebrated of these pious travellers, Hiuen Tsiang (629-645 A.D.), states that India 'was anciently called Shin-tu, also Hien-tau; but now, according to the right pronunciation, it is called In-tu.' This word in Chinese means the moon; and the cradle-land of Buddhism derived its name, according to the good pilgrim, from its superior glory in the spiritual firmament, *sicut luna inter minora sidera*. 'Though there be torches by night and the shining of the stars,' he says, 'how different from the bright (cool) moon! Just so the bright connected light of holy men and sages, guiding the world as the shining of the moon, have made this country

eminent, and so it is called In-tu.¹ Notwithstanding the pious philology of the pilgrim, the great river of the Punjab is, of course, the origin of the Chinese name.

The term Hindustán is derived from the modern Persian form (Hind), and properly applies only to the Punjab and the central basin of the Ganges. It is reproduced, however, with a wider signification in the title of the Queen-Empress, *Kaisar-i-Hind*, the Cæsar, Kaiser, Czar, or Sovereign-paramount of India. *Kaisar-i-Hind.*

India is shut off from the rest of Asia on the north by a vast mountainous region, known in the aggregate as the *Himálayas*. Among their southern ranges lie the Independent States of Bhután and Nepál: the great table-land of Tibet stretches northward behind: the Native Principality of Kashmír occupies their western corner. At this north-western angle of India (in lat. 36° N., long. 75° E.), an allied mountain system branches southwards. Its lofty offshoots separate India on the west, by the well-marked ranges of the Safed Koh and the Suláimán, from Afghánistán; and by a southern continuation of lower hills (the Hálás, etc.) from Baluchistán. The southernmost part of the western land frontier of India is the river Hab; and the boundary ends with Cape Monze, at the mouth of its estuary, in lat. $24^{\circ} 50'$ N., long. $66^{\circ} 43'$ E. Still proceeding southwards, India is bounded along the west and south-west by the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean. Turning northwards from its southern extremity at Cape Comorin (lat. $8^{\circ} 4' 20''$ N., long. $77^{\circ} 35' 35''$ E.), the Bay of Bengal forms the main part of its eastern boundary. *Boundaries, on the north, and north-west; on the west; on the east.*

But in the north-east, as in the north-west, India has again a land frontier. The *Himálayan* ranges at their north-eastern angle (in about lat. 28° N., long. 97° E.) throw off long spurs and chains to the southward. These spurs separate the British Provinces of Assam and Eastern Bengal from Independent Burma. They are known successively as the Abar, Nágá, Patkoi, and Bárel ranges. Turning almost due south in lat. 25° , they culminate in the Blue Mountain, 7100 feet, in lat. $22^{\circ} 37'$ N., long. $93^{\circ} 10'$ E.; and then stretch southwards under the name of the Arakan Yomas, separating British Burma from Independent Burma, until they again rise into the great mountain of Myin-matin (4700 feet), in $19\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of north latitude. Up to this point, the eastern hill frontier runs in a southerly direction, and follows, generally speaking, the watershed which divides the river systems of Bengal and *Burmese boundary.*

¹ *Sí-yu-ki*: Buddhist Records of the Western World; translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang by Samuel Beal. Vol. i. p. 69. Trübner. 1884.

Tenas-
serim
boundary.

British Burma (namely, the Brahmaputra, Meghná, Kuladan, etc.) from the Irawadi basin in Independent Burma. But from near the base of the Myin-matin Mountain, the British frontier stretches almost due east in a geographical line, which divides the lower Districts and delta of the Irawadi in British Burma, from the middle and upper Districts of that river in Independent Burma. Proceeding south-eastwards from the delta of the Irawadi, a confused succession of little explored ranges separates the British Province of Tenasserim from the Native Kingdom of Siam. The boundary line runs down to Point Victoria at the extremity of Tenasserim (lat. $9^{\circ} 59' \text{ N.}$, long. $98^{\circ} 32' \text{ E.}$), following the direction of the watershed between the rivers of the British territory on the west and of Siam on the east.

Physical
aspects.

The three
Regions
of India.

The Empire included within these boundaries is rich in varieties of scenery and climate, from the highest mountains in the world, to vast river deltas raised only a few inches above the level of the sea. It forms a continent rather than a country. But if we could look down on the whole from a balloon, we should find that India consists of three separate and well-defined tracts. The first includes the lofty Himálaya Mountains, which shut it out from the rest of Asia, and which, although for the most part beyond the British frontier, form a most important factor in the physical geography of Northern India. The second region stretches southwards from the base of the Himálayas, and comprises the plains of the great rivers which issue from them. The third region slopes upward again from the southern edge of the river plains, and consists of a high three-sided table-land, buttressed by the Vindhya Mountains on the north, and by the Eastern and Western Gháts which run down the coast on either side of India, till they meet at a point near Cape Comorin. The interior three-sided table-land, thus enclosed, is dotted with peaks and ranges, broken by river valleys, and interspersed by broad level uplands. It comprises the southern half of the peninsula.

First,
Region—
The Himá-
layas.

The first of the three regions is the Himálaya Mountains and their offshoots to the southward. The Himálayas—literally, the 'Abode of Snow,' from the Sanskrit *hima*, frost (Latin, *hiems*, winter), and *álaya*, a house—consist of a system of stupendous ranges, the loftiest in the world. They are the *Enodus* or *Imaus* of the Greek geographers, and extend in the shape of a scimitar, with its edge facing southwards, for a distance of 1500 miles along the northern frontier of India. At the north-eastern angle of that frontier, the Dihang river,

the connecting link between the Tsan-pu (Sangpu) of Tibet and the Brahmaputra of Assam, bursts through the main axis of the Himálayas. At the opposite or north-western angle, the Indus in like manner pierces the Himálayas, and turns southwards on its course through the Punjab. The Himálayas, like the Kuen-luen chain, the Tián-shan, and the Hindu Kush, converge towards the Pamír table-land—that central knot whence the great mountain systems of Asia radiate. With the Kuen-luen the Himálayas have a closer connection, as these two mighty ranges form respectively the northern and southern buttresses of the lofty Tibetan plateau. The Himálayas project east and west beyond the Indian frontier. Their total length is about 1750 miles, and their breadth from north to south from 150 to 250 miles.¹

Regarded merely as a natural frontier separating India from the Tibetan plateau, the Himálayas may be described as a double mountain wall running nearly east and west, with a trough or series of deep valleys beyond. The southernmost of the two walls rises steeply from the plains of India to 20,000 feet, or nearly 4 miles, in height. It culminates in KANCHANJANGA, 28,176 feet, and MOUNT EVEREST, 29,002 feet, the latter being the loftiest measured peak in the world. This outer or southern wall of the Himálayas subsides on the northward into a series of dips or uplands, reported to be 13,000 feet above the level of the sea, beyond which rises the second or inner range of Himálayan peaks. The double Himálayan wall thus formed, then descends into a great trough or line of valleys, in which the Sutlej, the Indus, and the mighty Tsan-pu (Sangpu) gather their waters.

The Sutlej and the Indus flow westwards, and pierce through the Western Himálayas by separate passes into the Punjab. The Tsan-pu, after a long unexplored course eastwards along the valley of the same name in Tibet, finds its way through the Dihang gorge of the Eastern Himálayas into Assam, where it takes its final name of the Brahmaputra. On the north of the river trough, beyond the double Himálayan wall, rise the Karakoram and Gangri mountains, which form the immediate escarpment of the Tibetan table-land. Behind the Gangris, on the north, the lake-studded plateau of Tibet spreads itself out at a height averaging 15,000 feet. Broadly speaking, the double Himálayan wall rests upon the low-lying plains of

¹ Some geographers hold that the Himálayan system stretches in a continuous chain westwards along the Oxus to 68° E. long.; and that only an arbitrary line can be drawn between the Himálayan ranges and the elevated regions of Tibet to the north of them.

India, and descends northward into a river trough beyond which rises the Tibetan plateau. Vast glaciers, one of which is known to be 60 miles in length, slowly move their masses of ice downwards to the valleys. The higher ranges between India and Tibet are crowned with eternal snow. They rise in a region of unbroken silence, like gigantic frosted fortresses one above the other, till their white towers are lost in the sky.

Himálayan-
passes.

This wild region is in many parts impenetrable to man, and nowhere yields a passage for a modern army. It should be mentioned, however, that the Chinese outposts extend as far as a point only 6000 feet above the Gangetic plain, north of Khatmandu. Indeed, Chinese armies have seriously threatened Khatmandu itself; and Sir David Ochterlony's advance from the plains of Bengal to that city in 1816 is a matter of history. Ancient and well-known trade routes exist, by means of which merchandise from the Punjab finds its way over heights of 18,000 feet into Eastern Túrkestán and Tibet. The Mustagh (Snowy Mount), the Karakoram (Black Mount), and the Chang-chenmo are among the most famous of these passes.

Offshoots
of the
Himá-
layas;
on east;

The Himálayas not only form a double wall along the north of India, but at both their eastern and western extremities send out ranges to the southwards, which protect India's north-eastern and north-western frontiers. On the north-east, those offshoots, under the name of the Nágá and Patkoi mountains, etc., form a barrier between the civilised British Districts and the wild tribes of Upper Burma. The southern continuations of these ranges, known as the Yomas, separate British from Independent Burma, and are crossed by passes, the most historic of which, the An or Aeng, rises to 4517 feet, with gradients of 472 feet to the mile.

and west.

On the opposite or north-western frontier of India, the mountainous offshoots run down the entire length of the British boundaries from the Himálayas to the sea. As they proceed southwards, their best marked ranges are in turn known as the Safed Koh, the Suláimán, and the Hála mountains. These massive barriers have peaks of great height, culminating in the Takht-i-Suláimán, or Throne of Solomon, 11,317 feet above the level of the sea. But, as already mentioned, the mountain wall is pierced at the corner where it strikes southwards from the Himálayas by an opening through which the Indus river flows into India. An adjacent opening, the KHAIBAR PASS (3400 feet above sea-level, amid neighbouring heights rising to 6800 feet), with the Kuram Pass on the south of it, the Gwalari Pass near Dera Ismáíl Khán, the Tál Pass debouching near Dera

The Gate-
ways of
India.

Ghází Khán, and the famous Bolán Pass (5800 feet at top), still farther south, furnish the gateways between India and Afghánistán. The Hála, Brahui, and Pab mountains form the southern hilly offshoots between India and Baluchistán; but they have a much less elevation than the Safed Koh or the Suláimán.

The Himálayas, while thus standing as a rampart and strong defence around the northern frontier of India, collect and store up water for the tropical plains below. Throughout the summer, vast quantities of water are exhaled from the Indian Ocean. This moisture gathers into vapour, and is borne northward by the monsoon or regular wind, which sets in from the south in the month of June. The monsoon carries the water-laden clouds northwards across India, and thus produces the 'rainy season,' on which agriculture so critically depends. But large quantities of the moisture do not condense or fall as rain in passing over the hot plains. This vast residue is eventually dashed against the Himálayas. Their lofty double walls stop its farther progress northwards, and it either descends in rain on their outer slopes, or is frozen into snow in its attempt to cross their inner heights. Very little gets beyond them; so that while the southern spurs of the Himálayas receive the largest measured rainfall in the world, and pour it down to the Indian rivers, the great plateau of Tibet on the north of the double Himálayan wall gets scarcely any rainfall.

At Cherra-Púnjí, where the monsoon first strikes the hills in Assam, 489 inches of rain, according to returns for 25 years ending 1881, fall annually. In one year (1861) as many as 805 inches were reported, of which 366 inches fell in the single month of July. While, therefore, the yearly rainfall in London is about 2 feet, and that of the plains of India from 1 to 6 feet, the rainfall at Cherra-Púnjí is 40 feet, a depth more than is required to float the largest man-of-war; and in one year, 67 feet of water fell from the sky, or sufficient to drown a three-storied house. The mighty mountains that wall in India on the north form, in fact, a rain-screen which catches the vapour-clouds from the Southern Ocean, and condenses them for the hot Bengal plains. The outer slopes of the Himálayas swell the Indian rivers by their torrents during the rainy season; their inner ranges and heights store up the rainfall in the shape of snow, and thus form a vast reservoir for the steady supply of the Indian rivers throughout the year.

This heavy rainfall renders the southern slopes of the Himálayas very fertile, wherever there is any depth of tilth.

Himálayan
water-
supply.'

Himálayan
rainfall.

Himálayan
scenery.

But, on the other hand, the torrents scour away the surface soil, and leave most of the mountain-sides bleak and bare. The upper ranges lie under eternal snow; the intermediate heights form arid grey masses; but on the lower slopes, plateaux, and valleys, forests spring up, or give place to a rich though simple cultivation. The temperature falls about $3\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ F. for each thousand feet of elevation; and the vegetation of the Himálayas is divided into three well-marked zones, the tropical, the temperate, and the arctic, as the traveller ascends from the Indian plains. A damp belt of lowland, the *taráí*, stretches along their foot, and is covered with dense, fever-breeding jungle, habitable only by rude tribes and wild beasts. Fertile *díns* or valleys penetrate their outer margin.

Himálayan
vegetation,
and forests.

In their eastern ranges adjoining the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, where the rainfall is heaviest, the tree-fern flourishes amid a magnificent vegetation. Their western or Punjab ranges are barer. But the rhododendron grows into a forest tree, and large tracts of it are to be found throughout the whole length of the Himálayas. The *deodar* rises in stately masses. Thickets of bamboos, with their graceful light-green foliage, beautify the lower valleys. Higher up, the glistening-grey ilex, mountain oaks with brown young leaves, the Himálayan cedar, drooping silver-firs, spruces, pines, and the many-hued foliage of the chestnut, walnut, and maple, not to mention a hundred trees of a lower growth hung with bridal veils of clematis in spring, and festooned with crimson virginia-creepers in autumn, form, together with patches of the white medlar blossom, a brilliant contrast to the stretches of scarlet and pink rhododendron. At harvest-time, crops of millet run in red ribands down the hillsides. The branches of the trees are themselves clothed in the damper regions with a luxuriant growth of mosses, ferns, lovely orchids, and flowering creepers. The Himálayas have enriched English parks and hothouses by the *deodar*, the rhododendron, and the orchid; and a great extension in the cultivation of the *deodar* and rhododendron throughout Britain dates from the Himálayan tour in 1848 of Sir Joseph Hooker, now Director of Kew Gardens. The high price of wood on the plains, for railway sleepers and building purposes, has caused many of the hills to be stripped of their forests, so that the rainfall now rushes quickly down their bare slopes, washing away the surface soil, and leaving no tilth in which new woods might grow up. The Forest Department is endeavouring to repair this reckless denudation of the Himálayan woods.

Himálayan
cultivation.

The hill tribes cultivate barley, oats, and a variety of

millets and small grains. Vegetables are also raised on a large scale. The potato, introduced from England, is a favourite crop, and covers many sites formerly under forest.

The hillman clears his potato ground by burning a ring round the stems of the great trees, and then lays out the side of the mountain into terraces. After a few years the bark and leaves drop off the branches, and the forest stands bleached and ruined. Some of the trees rot on the ground, like giants fallen in confused flight; others still remain upright, with white trunks and skeleton arms. In the end, the rank green potato crop marks the spot where a forest has been slain and buried. Several of the ruder hill tribes follow an even more wasteful mode of tillage. Destitute of either ploughs or oxen, they burn down the jungle, and exhaust the soil by a quick succession of crops, raised by the hoe. In a year or two the whole settlement moves off to a fresh patch of jungle, which they clear and exhaust, and then desert in like manner.

Clearing a hill forest.

Rice is only grown in the *Himálayas* on ground which has an unfailing command of water—particularly in the damp hot valleys between the successive ranges which roll upwards into the interior. The hillmen practise an ingenious system of irrigation, according to which the slopes are laid out in terraces, and the streams are diverted to a great distance by successive parallel channels along the mountain-side. They also utilize their water-power for mill purposes. Some of them are ignorant of cog-wheels for converting the vertical movement of the mill-wheel into the horizontal movement required for the grinding-stone. They therefore place their mill-wheel flat instead of upright, and lead the water so as to dash with great force on the horizontal paddles. A horizontal rotary movement is thus obtained, and conveyed direct by the axle to the millstone above.

Irrigation and mill-power.

The chief saleable products of the *Himálayas* are timber, charcoal, barley, millets, potatoes, other vegetables, honey, jungle products, borax, and several kinds of inferior gems. Strings of ponies and mules straggle with their burdens along the narrow pathways, which are at many places mere ledges cut out of the precipice. The hillmen and their hard-working wives load themselves also with pine stems and conical baskets of grain. The yak-cow and hardy mountain sheep are the favourite beasts of burden in the inner ranges. The little yak-cow, whose bushy tail is manufactured in Europe into lace, patiently toils up the steepest gorges with a heavy burden on her back. The sheep, laden with bags of borax, are driven

Himálayan saleable produce.

to marts on the outer ranges near the plains, where they are shorn of their wool, and then return into the interior with a load of grain or salt. Hundreds of them, having completed their journey from the upper ranges, are sold for slaughter at a nominal price of perhaps a shilling a-piece, as they are not worth taking back to the inner mountains.

Himálayan animals and tribes. The characteristic animals of the Himálayas include the yak-cow, musk-deer, several kinds of wild sheep and goat, bear, ounce, leopard, and fox ; the eagle, great vultures, pheasants of beautiful varieties, partridges, and other birds. Ethnologically, the Himálayas form the meeting-ground of the Aryan and Turanian races, which in some parts are curiously mingled, although generally distinguishable. The tribes or broken clans of non-Aryan origin number over fifty, with languages, customs, and religious rites more or less distinct. The lifelong labours of Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson, of the Bengal Civil Service, have done much to illustrate the flora, fauna, and ethnology of the Himálayas ; and no sketch of this region would be complete without a reference to Mr. Hodgson's work.

Second Region of India—The northern River Plains. The wide plains watered by the Himálayan rivers form the second of the three regions into which India is divided. They extend from the Bay of Bengal on the east, to the Afghán frontier and the Arabian Sea on the west, and contain the richest and most densely-crowded Provinces of the Empire. One set of invaders after another have, from pre-historic times, entered by the passes on the north-eastern and north-western frontiers of India. They followed the courses of the rivers, and pushed the earlier comers southwards before them towards the sea. About 150 millions of people now live on and around these river plains in the Provinces known as the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, Assam, the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, the Punjab, Sind, Rájputána and other Native States.

The three River systems of N. India. The vast level tract which thus covers Northern India is watered by three distinct river systems. One of these river systems takes its rise in the hollow trough beyond the Himálayas, and issues through their western ranges upon the Punjab as the Indus and Sutlej. The second of the three river systems also takes its rise beyond the double wall of the Himálayas, not very far from the sources of the Indus and the Sutlej. It turns, however, almost due east instead of west, enters India at the eastern extremity of the Himálayas and becomes the Brahmaputra of Assam and Eastern Bengal. These rivers

(1) The Indus, with the Sutlej.
(2) The Tsan-pu or Brahma-putra.

collect the drainage of the northern slopes of the Himálayas, and convey it, by long, tortuous, and opposite routes, into India. Indeed, the special feature of the Himálayas is that they send down the rainfall from their northern as well as from their southern slopes to the Indian plains. Of the three great rivers of Northern India, the two longest, namely the Indus with its feeder the Sutlej, and the Brahmaputra, take their rise in the trough on the north of the great Himálayan wall. That trough receives the drainage of the inner or northern escarpment of the Himálayas, together with such water-supply as emerges from the outer or southern escarpment of the lofty but almost rainless plateau of Tibet.

The third river system of Northern India receives the drainage of the outer or southern Himálayan slopes, and unites into the mighty stream of the Ganges. In this way, the rainfall, alike from the northern and southern slopes of the Himálayas, and even from the mountain buttresses of the Tibet plateau beyond, pours down upon the plains of India. The long and lofty spur of the outer Himálayas, on which stands Simla, the summer residence of the Government of India, forms the watershed between the river systems of the Indus and Ganges. The drainage from the west of this narrow ridge below the Simla Church flows into the Arabian Sea; while that which starts a few feet off, down the eastern side, eventually reaches the Bay of Bengal.

The INDUS (Sanskrit, *Sindhus*; Ἰνδός, Σινθός) rises in an unexplored region (lat. 32° N., long. 81° E.) on the slopes of the sacred Kailás mountain, the Elysium or Siva's Paradise of ancient Sanskrit literature. The Indus has an elevation of about 16,000 feet at its source in Tibet; a drainage basin of 372,700 square miles; and a total length of over 1800 miles. Shortly after it passes within the Kashmír frontier, it drops to 14,000 feet, and at Leh is only about 11,000 feet above the level of the sea. The rapid stream dashes down ravines and wild mountain valleys, and is subject to tremendous floods. The Indus bursts through the western ranges of the Himálayas by a wonderful gorge near Iskardoh, in North-Western Kashmír—a gorge reported to be 14,000 feet in sheer depth.

Its great feeder, the SUTLEJ, rises on the southern slopes of the Kailás mountain, also in Tibet. It issues from one of the sacred lakes, the Mánasarowar and Rávana-hráda (the modern Rákhas Tál), famous in Hindu mythology, and still the resort of the Tibetan shepherds. Starting at an elevation of 15,200 feet, the Sutlej passes south-west across the plain of

Gugé, where it has cut through a vast accumulation of deposits by a gully said to be 4000 feet deep, between precipices of alluvial soil. After traversing this plain, the river pierces the Himálayas by a gorge with mountains rising to 20,000 feet on either side. The Sutlej is reported to fall from 10,000 feet above sea-level at Shipki, a Tibetan frontier outpost, to 3000 feet at Rámpur, the capital of a Himálayan State about 60 miles inward from Simla. During this part of its course, the Sutlej runs at the bottom of a deep trough, with precipices and bare mountains which have been denuded of their forests, towering above. Its turbid waters, and their unceasing roar as the river dashes over the rapids, have a gloomy and disquieting effect. Sometimes it grinds to powder the huge pines and cedars entrusted to it to float down to the plains. By the time it reaches Biláspur, it has dropped to 1000 feet above sea-level. After entering British territory, the Sutlej receives the waters of the Western Punjab, and falls into the Indus near Mithánkot, after a course of 900 miles.

Lower
course of
Indus.

A full account of the Indus will be found in the article on that river in volume vii. of *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. About 800 miles of its course are passed among the Himálayas before it enters British territory, and it flows for about 1000 miles more, south-west, through the British Provinces of the Punjab and Sind. In its upper part it is fordable in many places during the cold weather; but it is liable to sudden freshets, in one of which Ranjít Singh is said to have lost a force, variously stated at from 1200 to 7000 horsemen, while crossing by a ford. A little way above Attock, the Indus receives the Kábul river, which brings down the waters of Northern Afghánistán. The volume of those waters, as represented by the Kábul river, is about equal to the volume of the Indus at the point of junction. At Attock, the Indus has fallen, during a course of 860 miles, from its elevation of 16,000 feet at its source in Tibet to under 2000 feet. These 2000 feet supply its fall during the remaining 940 miles of its course.

The discharge of the Indus, after receiving all its tributaries, varies from 40,857 to 446,086 cubic feet per second, according to the season of the year. The enormous mass of water spreads itself over a channel of a quarter of a mile to a mile (or at times much more) in breadth. The effect produced by the evaporation from this fluvial expanse is so marked that, at certain seasons, the thermometer is reported to be 10° F. lower close to its surface than on the surrounding arid plains. The Indus supplies a precious store of water

for irrigation works at various points along its course, and forms the great highway of the Southern Punjab and Sind. In its lower course it sends forth distributaries across a wide delta, with Haidarábád (Hyderábád) in Sind as its ancient political capital, and Karáchi (Kurrachee) as its modern port. The silt which it carries down has helped to form the seaboard islands, mud-banks, and shallows, that have cut off the ancient famous emporia around the Gulf of Cambay from modern commerce.

The BRAHMAPUTRA, like the Sutlej, rises near to the sacred lake of Mánasarowar. Indeed, the Indus, the Sutlej, and the Brahmaputra may be said to start from the same water-parting. The Indus rises on the western slope of the Kailás mountain, the Sutlej on its southern, and the Brahmaputra at some distance from its eastern base. The Mariam-la and other saddles connect the more northern Tibetan mountains, to which the Kailás belongs, with the double Himálayan wall on the south. They form an irregular watershed across the trough on the north of the double wall of the Himálayas; thus, as it were, blocking up the western half of the great Central Asian trench. The Indus flows down a western valley from this transverse watershed; the Sutlej finds a more direct route to India by a south-western valley. The Brahmaputra, under its Tibetan name of Tsan-pu or Sangpu, has its source in 31° N. lat. and 83° E. long. It flows eastwards down the Tsan-pu valley, passing not very far to the south of Lhasa, the capital of Tibet; and probably 800 to 900 miles, or about one-half of its total course, are spent in the hollow trough on the north of the Himálayas. This brief account assumes that the Brahmaputra of India is the true continuation of the Sangpu of Tibet. The result of the latest researches into that long mooted question are given under article BRAHMAPUTRA, in volume iii. of *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

After receiving several tributaries from the confines of the Chinese Empire, the river twists round a lofty eastern range of the Himálayas, and enters British territory under the name of the DIHANG, near Sadiyá in Assam. It presently receives two confluent, the DIBANG river from the northward, and the Brahmaputra proper from the east (lat. $27^{\circ} 20'$ N., long. $95^{\circ} 50'$ E.). The united stream then takes its well-known appellation of the Brahmaputra, literally the 'Son of Brahma the Creator.' It represents a drainage basin of 361,200 square miles, and its summer discharge at Goálpára in Assam was

for long computed at 146,188 cubic feet of water per second. Recent measurements have, however, shown that this calculation is below the truth. Observations made near Dibrugarh during the cold weather of 1877-78, returned a mean low-water discharge of 116,484 cubic feet per second for the Brahmaputra at the upper end of the Assam valley, together with 16,945 cubic feet per second for its tributary the SUBANSIRI. Total cold-weather discharge for the united stream, over 133,000 cubic feet per second near Dibrugarh. Several affluents join the Brahmaputra during its course through Assam; and the mean low-water discharge at Goálpára, in the lower end of the Assam valley, must be in excess of the previous computation at 146,188 cubic feet per second. During the rains the channel rises 30 or 40 feet above its ordinary level, and its flood discharge is estimated at over 500,000 cubic feet per second.

Brahma-
putra silt.

The Brahmaputra rolls down the Assam valley in a vast sheet of water, broken by numerous islands, and exhibiting the operations of alluvion and diluvion on a gigantic scale. It is so heavily freighted with silt from the *Himálayas*, that the least impediment placed in its current causes a deposit, and may give rise to a wide-spreading, almond-shaped mud-bank. Steamers anchoring near the margin for the night sometimes find their sterns aground next morning on an accumulation of silt, caused by their own obstruction to the current. Broad divergent channels split off from the parent stream, and rejoin it after a long separate existence of uncontrollable meandering. By centuries of alluvial deposit, the Brahmaputra has raised its banks and channel in parts of the Assam valley to a higher level than the surrounding country. Beneath either bank lies a low strip of marshy land, which is flooded in the rainy season. Beyond these swamps, the ground begins to rise towards the hills that hem in the valley of Assam on both sides.

The
Brahma-
putra in
Bengal.

After a course of 450 miles south-west down the Assam valley, the Brahmaputra sweeps round the spurs of the *Gáro Hills* due south towards the sea. It here takes the name of the *Jamuná*, and for 180 miles rushes across the level plains of Eastern Bengal, till it joins the *Ganges* at *Goálanda* (lat. $23^{\circ} 50' N.$, long. $89^{\circ} 46' E.$). From this point the deltas of the two great river systems of the *Ganges* and the *Brahmaputra* unite into one. But before reaching the sea, their combined streams have yet to receive, by way of the *CACHAR* valley, the drainage of the eastern watershed between Bengal and Burma,

(*Jamuná*
and
Meghná.)

under the name of the MEGHNA river, itself a broad and magnificent sheet of water.

The Brahmaputra is famous not only for its vast alluvial deposits, but also for the historical changes which have taken place in its course. One of the islands (the *Májulí char*), which it has created in its channel out of the silt torn away from the distant *Himálayas*, covers 441 square miles. Every year, thousands of acres of new land are thus formed out of mud and sand; some of them destined to be swept away by the inundations of the following year; others to become the homes of an industrious peasantry or the seats of busy river marts. Such formations give rise to changes in the bed of the river—changes which within a hundred years have completely altered the course of the Brahmaputra through Bengal. In the last century, the stream, on issuing from Assam, bent close round the spurs of the Gáro Hills in a south-easterly direction. This old bed of the Brahmaputra, the only one recognised by Major Rennel in 1765–75, has now been deserted. It retains the ancient name of the Brahmaputra, but during the hot weather it is little more than a series of pools. The modern channel, instead of twisting round the Gáro Hills to the east, bursts straight southwards towards the sea under the name of the Jamuná, and is now separated at places by nearly 100 miles of level land from the main channel in the last century. A floating log thrown up against the bank, a sunk boat, or any smallest obstruction, may cause the deposit of a mud island. Every such silt-bank gives a more or less new direction to the main channel, which in a few years may have eaten its way far across the plain, and dug out for itself a new bed at a distance of several miles. Unlike the Ganges and the Indus, the Brahmaputra is not used for artificial irrigation. But its silt-charged overflow annually replenishes the land. Indeed, the plains of Eastern Bengal watered by the Brahmaputra yield unfailing harvests of rice, mustard, oil-seeds, and the exhausting jute crop, year after year, without any deterioration. The valley of the Brahmaputra in Assam is not less fertile, although inhabited by a less industrious race.

Brahma-
putra silt-
islands.

Great
changes in
its course.

The Brahmaputra is the great high-road of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Its tributaries and bifurcations afford innumerable waterways, almost superseding roads, and at the same time rendering road construction and maintenance very difficult. The main river is navigable by steamers as high up as DIBRUGARH, about 800 miles from the sea; and its broad surface is crowded with country craft of all sizes and rigs, from

The
Brahma-
putra as a
high-road.

the dug-out canoe and timber raft to the huge cargo ship, with its high bow and carved stern, its bulged-out belly, and spreading square-sails. The busy emporium of SIRÁJGANJ, on the western bank of the Brahmaputra, collects the produce of the Districts for transmission to Calcutta. Fifty thousand native craft, besides steamers, passed Sirájanj in 1876.

Brahma-
putra
traffic.

The downward traffic consists chiefly of tea (to the value of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling), timber, caoutchouc, and raw cotton, from Assam; with jute, oil-seeds, tobacco, rice, and other grains, from Eastern Bengal. In return for these, Calcutta sends northwards by the Brahmaputra, European piece-goods, salt, and hardware; while Assam imports from the Bengal delta, by the same highway, large quantities of rice (amounting to 14,749 tons in 1883-84) for the labourers on the tea plantations. The total value of the river-borne trade of the Brahmaputra was returned at a little over three millions sterling in 1882-83. But it is impossible to ascertain the whole produce carried by the innumerable native boats on the Brahmaputra. The railway system of India taps the Brahmaputra at Goálanda and Dhubrí; while a network of channels through the Sundarbans supply a cheaper means of water transit for bulky produce across the delta to Calcutta.

The
Gangetic
river
system.

As the Indus, with its feeder the Sutlej, and the Brahmaputra, convey to India the drainage from the northern or Tibetan slopes of the Himálayas, so the GANGES, with its tributary the Jumna, collects the rainfall from the southern or Indian slopes of the mountain wall, and pours it down upon the plains of Bengal. The Ganges traverses the central part of those plains, and occupies a more prominent place in the history of Indian civilisation than either the Indus in the extreme west, or the Brahmaputra in the extreme east of Hindustán. It passes its whole life to the south of the Himálayas, and for thousands of years has formed an overruling factor in the development of the Indian races.

The Ganges issues, under the name of the Bhágírathí, from an ice-cave at the foot of a Himálayan snowbed, 13,800 feet above the sea-level (lat. $30^{\circ} 56' 4''$ N., long. $79^{\circ} 6' 40''$ E.). After a course of 1557 miles, it falls by a network of estuaries into the Bay of Bengal. It represents, with its tributaries, an enormous catchment basin, bounded on the north by a section of about 700 miles of the Himálayan ranges, on the south by the Vindhya mountains, and embracing 391,100 square miles. Before attempting a description of the functions performed by

the Ganges, it is necessary to form some idea of the mighty masses of water which it collects and distributes. But so many variable elements affect the discharge of rivers, that calculations of their volume must be taken merely as estimates.

At the point where it issues from its snowbed, the infant stream is only 27 feet broad and 15 inches deep, with an elevation of 13,800 feet above sea-level. During the first 180 miles of its course, it drops to an elevation of 1024 feet. At this point, Hardwár, its lowest discharge, in the dry season, is 7000 cubic feet per second. Hitherto the Ganges has been little more than a snow-fed Himálayan stream. During the next thousand miles of its journey, it collects the drainage of its catchment basin, and reaches Rájmahal about 1180 miles from its source. It has here, while still about 400 miles from the sea, a high flood discharge of 1,800,000 cubic feet of water per second, and an ordinary discharge of 207,000 cubic feet; longest duration of flood, about forty days. The maximum discharge of the Mississippi is given at 1,200,000 cubic feet per second.¹ The maximum discharge of the Nile at Cairo is returned at only 362,200 cubic feet; and of the Thames at Staines at 6600 cubic feet of water per second. The Meghná, one of the many outflows of the Ganges, is 20 miles broad near its mouth, with a depth, in the dry season, of 30 feet. But for a distance of about 200 miles, the sea face of Bengal entirely consists of the estuaries of the Ganges, intersected by low islands and promontories, formed out of its silt.

In forming our ideas with regard to the Ganges, we must begin by dismissing from our minds any lurking comparison of its gigantic stream with the rivers which we are familiar with in England. A single one of its tributaries, the JUMNA, has an independent existence of 860 miles, with a catchment basin of 118,000 square miles, and starts from an elevation at its source of 10,849 feet above sea-level. The Ganges and its principal tributaries are treated of in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, in separate articles under their respective names. The following account confines itself to a brief sketch of the work which these Gangetic rivers perform in the plains of Northern India, and of the position which they hold in the thoughts of the people.

Of all great rivers on the surface of the globe, none can compare in sanctity with the Ganges, or Mother Gangá, as she is affectionately called by devout Hindus. From her source in

¹ *Hydraulic Manual*, by Lewis D'A. Jackson, Hydraulic Statistics, Table II. ; Appendix, p. 2 (1875).

the Himálayas, to her mouth in the Bay of Bengal, her banks are holy ground. Each point of junction of a tributary with the main stream has its own special claims to sanctity. But the tongue of land at Allahábád, where the Ganges unites with her great sister river the Jumna, is the true *Prayág*, the place of pilgrimage whither hundreds of thousands of devout Hindus repair to wash away their sins in her sanctifying waters. Many of the other holy rivers of India borrow their sanctity from a supposed underground connection with the Ganges. This fond fable recalls the primitive time when the Aryan race was moving southward from the Gangetic plains. It is told not only of first-class rivers of Central and Southern India, like the Narbadá, but also of many minor streams of local sanctity.

Legend
of the
Ganges.

An ancient legend relates how Gangá, the fair daughter of King Himálaya (Himávat) and of his queen the air-nymph Menaka, was persuaded, after long supplication, to shed her purifying influence upon the sinful earth. The icicle-studded cavern from which she issues is the tangled hair of the god Siva. Loving legends hallow each part of her course; and from the names of her tributaries and of the towns along her banks, a whole mythology might be built up. The southern offshoots of the Aryan race not only sanctified their southern rivers by a fabled connection with the holy stream of the north. They also hoped that in the distant future, their rivers would attain an equal sanctity by the diversion of the Ganges' waters through underground channels. Thus, the Bráhmans along the Narbadá maintain that in this evil age of the world (indeed, about the year 1894 A.D.), the sacred character of the Ganges will depart from that polluted stream, and take refuge by an underground passage in their own river.

Gangetic
pilgrim-
ages.

The estuary of the Ganges is not less sacred than her source. Ságar Island at her mouth is annually visited by a vast concourse of pilgrims, in commemoration of her act of saving grace; when, in order to cleanse the 60,000 damned ones of the house of Ságar, she divided herself into a hundred channels, thus making sure of reaching their remains, and so forming the delta of Bengal. The six years' pilgrimage from her source to her mouth and back again, known as *pradakshina*, is still performed by many; and a few devotees may yet be seen wearily accomplishing the meritorious penance of 'measuring their length' along certain parts of the route. To bathe in the Ganges at the stated festivals washes away guilt, and those who have thus purified themselves carry back bottles of her water to their kindred in far-off provinces.

To die and to be cremated on the river bank, and to have their ashes borne seaward by her stream, is the last wish of millions of Hindus. Even to ejaculate 'Gangá, Gangá,' at the distance of 100 leagues from the river, say her more enthusiastic devotees, may atone for the sins committed during three previous lives.

The Ganges has earned the reverence of the people by centuries of unflinching work done for them. She and her tributaries are the unwearied water-carriers for the densely-peopled provinces of Northern India, and the peasantry reverence the bountiful stream which fertilizes their fields and distributes their produce. None of the other rivers of India comes near to the Ganges in works of beneficence. The Brahmaputra and the Indus have longer streams, as measured by the geographer, but their upper courses lie beyond the great mountain wall in the unknown recesses of the Himálayas.

Not one of the rivers of Southern India is navigable in the proper sense. The Ganges begins to distribute fertility by irrigation as soon as she reaches the plains, within 200 miles of her source, and at the same time her channel becomes in some sort navigable. Thenceforward she rolls majestically down to the sea in a bountiful stream, which never becomes a merely destructive torrent in the rains, and never dwindles away in the hottest summer. Tapped by canals, she distributes millions of cubic feet of water every hour in irrigation; but her diminished volume is promptly recruited by great tributaries, and the wide area of her catchment basin renders her stream inexhaustible in the service of man. Embankments are in but few places required to restrain her inundations, for the alluvial silt which she spills over her banks affords in most parts a top-dressing of inexhaustible fertility. If one crop be drowned by the flood, the peasant comforts himself with the thought that the next crop from his silt-manured fields will abundantly requite him. The function of the Ganges as a land-maker on a great scale will be explained hereafter.

The Ganges has also played a pre-eminent part in the commercial development of Northern India. Until the opening of the railway system, 1855 to 1870, her magnificent stream formed almost the sole channel of traffic between Upper India and the seaboard. The products not only of the river plains, but even the cotton of the Central Provinces, were formerly brought by this route to Calcutta. Notwithstanding the revolution caused by the railways, the heavier and more

Work
done by
the
Ganges;

The water-
carrier and
fertilizer
of Bengal.

The
Ganges
the great
highway
of Bengal.

bulky staples are still conveyed by the river, and the Ganges may yet rank as one of the greatest waterways in the world.

Traffic
on the
Ganges.

The upward and downward trade of the interior with Calcutta alone, by the Gangetic channels, was valued in 1881 at over 20 millions sterling. This is exclusive of the sea-borne commerce. At Bámangháta, on one of the canals east of Calcutta, 178,627 cargo boats were registered in 1876-77; at Húglí, a river-side station on a single one of the many Gangetic mouths, 124,357; and at Patná, 550 miles from the mouth of the river, the number of cargo boats entered in the register was 61,571. The port of Calcutta is itself one of the world's greatest emporia for sea and river borne commerce. Its total exports and imports landward and seaward amounted in 1881 to about 140 millions sterling.

Not
diminished
by the
railway.

Articles of European commerce, such as wheat, indigo, cotton, opium, and saltpetre, prefer the railway; so also do the imports of Manchester piece-goods. But if we take into account the vast development in the export trade of oil-seeds, rice, etc., still carried by the river, and the growing interchange of food-grains between various parts of the country, it seems probable that the actual amount of traffic on the Ganges has increased rather than diminished since the opening of the railways. At well-chosen points along her course, the iron lines touch the banks, and these river-side stations form centres for collecting and distributing the produce of the surrounding country. The Ganges, therefore, is not merely a rival, but a feeder, of the railway. Her ancient cities, such as ALLAHABAD, BENARES, and PATNA, have thus been able to preserve their former importance; while fishing villages like SAHIBGANJ and GOALANDA have been raised into thriving river marts.

The great
Gangetic
cities.

For, unlike the Indus and the Brahmaputra, the Ganges is a river of great historic cities. CALCUTTA, PATNA, and BENARES are built on her banks; AGRA and DELHI on those of her tributary, the Jumna; and ALLAHABAD on the tongue of land where the two sister streams unite. Many millions of human beings live by commerce along her margin. Calcutta, with its suburbs on both sides of the river, contains a population of over $\frac{3}{4}$ of a million. It has a municipal revenue of £270,000 to £290,000; a sea-borne and coasting commerce of about 65 millions sterling, with a landward trade of 75 millions sterling. These figures vary from year to year, but show a steady increase. Calcutta lies on the HUGLI, the most westerly of the mouths by which the Ganges enters the sea. To the eastwards stretches the delta, till it is hemmed

Calcutta.

in on the other side by the MEGHNA, the most easterly of the mouths of the Ganges; or rather the vast estuary by which the combined waters of the Brahmaputra and Gangetic river systems find their way into the Bay of Bengal.

In order, therefore, to understand the plains of Northern India, we must have a clear idea of the part played by the great rivers; for the rivers first create the land, then fertilize it, and finally distribute its produce. The plains of Bengal were in many parts upheaved by volcanic forces, or deposited in an aqueous era, before the present race of man appeared. But in other parts they have been formed out of the silt which the rivers bring down from the mountains; and at this day we may stand by and watch the ancient process of land-making go on.

A great Indian river like the Ganges has three distinct stages in its career from the Himálayas to the sea. In the first stage of its course, it dashes down the Himálayas, cutting out for itself deep gullies in the solid rock, ploughing up glens between the mountains, and denuding the hillsides of their soil. In wading over the Sutlej feeders among the hills in the rainy season, the ankles are sore from the pebbles which the stream carries with it; while even in the hot weather, the rushing sand and gravel cause a prickly sensation across the feet.

The second stage in the life of an Indian river begins at the point where it emerges from the mountains upon the plains. It then runs peacefully along the valleys, searching out for itself the lowest levels. It receives the drainage and mud of the country on both sides, absorbs tributaries, and rolls forward with an ever-increasing volume of water and silt. Every torrent from the Himálayas brings its separate contribution of new soil, which it has torn from the rocks or eroded from its banks. This process repeats itself throughout more than ten thousand miles; that is to say, down the course of each tributary from the Himálayas or Vindhya, and across the plains of Northern India. During the second stage of the life of a Bengal river, therefore, it forms a great open drain, which gradually deepens itself by erosion of its channel. As its bed thus sinks lower and lower, it draws off the water from swamps or lakes in the surrounding country. Dry land takes the place of fens; and in this way the physical configuration of Northern India has been greatly altered, even since the Greek descriptions 2000 years ago.

As long as the force of the current is maintained by a

First and second stages of a great river, as a silt-collector.

sufficient fall per mile, the river carries forward the silt thus supplied, and adds to it fresh contributions from its banks. Each river acquires a character of its own as it advances, a character which tells the story of its early life. Thus, the Indus is loaded with silt of a brown hue; the Chenáb has a reddish tinge; while the Sutlej is of a paler colour. The exact amount of fall required per mile depends upon the specific gravity of the silt which it carries. At a comparatively early stage, the current drops the heavy particles of rock or sand which it has torn from the Himálayan precipices. But a fall of 5 inches per mile suffices to hold in suspension the great body of the silt, and to add further accretions in passing through alluvial plains. The average fall of the Ganges between Benares and the delta-head (about 461 miles) is nearly 5 inches per mile. In its upper course its average declivity is much greater, and suffices to bear along and pulverize the heavier spoils torn from the Himálayas.

Loss of carrying power.

By the time the Ganges reaches its delta in Lower Bengal (Colgong to Calcutta), its average fall per mile has dropped to 4 inches. From Calcutta to the sea the fall varies in the numerous distributaries of the parent stream, according to the tide, from 1 to 2 inches. In the delta the current seldom suffices to carry the burden of its silt, except during the rains, and so deposits it.¹

Third stage of an Indian river, as a land-maker.

In Lower Bengal, therefore, the Ganges enters on the third stage of its life. Finding its speed checked by the equal level of the plains, and its bed raised by the deposit of its own silt, it splits out into channels, like a jet of water suddenly obstructed by the finger, or a jar of liquid dashed on the ground. Each of the new streams thus created throws out in turn its own set of distributaries to right and left. The country which their many offshoots enclose and intersect forms

¹ The following facts may be useful to observers in Bengal who wish to study the most interesting feature of the country in which they live, namely the rivers. Ten inches per mile is considered to be the fall which a navigable river should not exceed. The average fall of the Ganges from the point where it unites with the Jumna at Allahábád to Benares (139 miles), is 6 inches per mile; from Benares to Colgong (326 miles), 5 inches per mile; from Colgong to the delta-head, where the Bhághiathi strikes off (about 135 miles), 4 inches per mile; from the delta-head to Calcutta (about 200 miles), also 4 inches per mile; from Calcutta to the sea *viâ* the Húgli (about 80 miles), 1 to 2 inches per mile, according to the tide. The fall of the Nile from the first Cataract to Cairo (555 miles), is 6½ inches per mile; from Cairo to the sea, it is very much less. The fall of the Mississippi for the first hundred miles from its mouth, is 1·80 inch per mile; for the second hundred miles, 2 inches; for the third hundred, 2·30

the delta of Bengal. The present delta of the Ganges may be taken to commence at a point 1231 miles from its source, and 326 from the sea by its longest channel. At that point the head-waters of the Húglí break off, under the name of the Bhágrathí, from the parent channel, and make their way south to the sea. The main volume of the Ganges pursues its course to the south-east, and a great triangle of land, with its southern base on the Bay of Bengal, is thus enclosed.

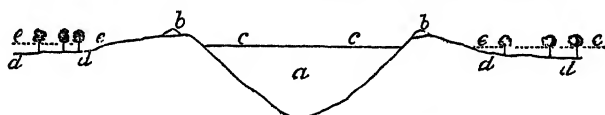
Between the Húglí on the west and the main channel on the east, a succession of offshoots strike southward from the Ganges. The network of streams struggle slowly seaward over the level delta. Their currents are no longer able, by reason of their diminished speed, to carry along the silt or sand which the more rapid parent river has brought down from Northern India. They accordingly drop their burden of silt in their channels or along their margins, producing almond-shaped islands, and by degrees raising their banks and channels above the surrounding plains. When they spill over in time of flood, the largest amount of silt is deposited on their banks, or near them on the inland side. In this way not only their beds, but also the lands along their banks, are gradually raised.

The delta of Bengal.

The deltaic distributaries;

how they raise their banks above surrounding country.

SECTION OF A DELTAIC CHANNEL OF THE GANGES.



a. The river channel; *b b* the two banks raised by successive deposits of silt from the spill-water in time of flood; *c c.* the surface of the water when not in flood; *d d.* the low-lying swamps stretching away from either bank, into which the river flows when it spills over its banks in time of flood, *e e.* the dotted lines represent the ordinary level of the river surface.

inches; for the fourth hundred, 2.57 inches; and for the whole section of 855 miles from the mouth to Memphis, the average fall is given as $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches to the mile.

The following table, calculated by Mr. David Stevenson (*Canal and River Engineering*, p. 315), shows the silt-carrying power of rivers at various velocities:—

| Inches per Second. | Mile per Hour. | |
|--------------------|----------------|---|
| 3 | = 0.170 | will just begin to work on fine clay. |
| 6 | = 0.340 | will lift fine sand. |
| 8 | = 0.4545 | will lift sand as coarse as linseed. |
| 12 | = 0.6819 | will sweep along fine gravel. |
| 24 | = 1.3638 | will roll along rounded pebbles 1 inch in diameter. |
| 36 | = 2.045 | will sweep along slippery angular stones of the size of an egg. |

Delta
rivers build
themselves
up into
high-level
canals.

The rivers of a delta thus build themselves up, as it were, into high-level canals, which in the rainy season overflow their banks and leave their silt upon the low country on either side. Thousands of square miles in Lower Bengal receive in this way each summer a top-dressing of new soil, carried free of cost for more than a thousand miles by the river currents from Northern India or the still more distant *Himálayas*-- a system of natural manuring which yields a constant succession of rich crops.

Junction
of Ganges,
Brahma-
putra, and
Meghná.

At *Goálanda*, about half-way between the delta-head and the sea, the Ganges unites with the main stream of the *Brahmaputra*, and farther down with the *Meghná*. Their combined waters exhibit deltaic operations on the most gigantic scale. They represent the drainage collected by the two vast river systems of the Ganges and the *Brahmaputra*, from an aggregate catchment basin of 752,000 square miles on both sides of the *Himálayas*, together with the rainfall poured into the *Meghná* from the eastern Burmese watershed.

Their
combined
delta.

The forces thus brought into play defy the control even of modern engineering. As the vast network of rivers creeps farther down the delta, they become more and more sluggish, and raise their beds still higher above the adjacent flats. Each set of channels has a depressed tract or swamp on either side, so that the lowest levels in a delta lie about half-way between the rivers. The stream constantly overflows into these depressed tracts, and gradually fills them up with its silt. The water which rushes from the river into the swamps has sometimes the colour of pea-soup, from the quantity of silt which it carries. When it has stood a few days in the swamps, and the river flood subsides, the water flows back from the swamps into the river channel; but it has dropped all its silt, and is of a clear dark-brown hue. The silt remains in the swamp, and by degrees fills it up, thus slowly creating new land. The muddy foliage of the trees which have been submerged bears witness to the fresh deposit. As we shall presently see, buried roots and decayed stumps are found at great depths; while nearer the top the excavator comes upon the remains of old tanks, broken pottery, and other traces of human habitations, which within historic times were above the ground.

Deltaic
swamps,

how filled
up by silt.

Last scene
in the life
of an
Indian
river.

The last scene in the life of an Indian river is a wilderness of forest and swamp at the end of the delta, amid whose malarious solitude the network of tidal creeks merges into the sea. Here all the secrets of land-making stand disclosed. The river channels, finally checked by the dead weight of the sea, deposit most of their remaining silt, which emerges

from the estuary as banks or blunted headlands. The ocean currents also find themselves impeded by the outflow from the rivers, and in their turn drop the burden of sand which they sweep along the coast. The two causes combine to build up breakwaters of mingled sand and mud along the foreshore. In this way, while the solid earth gradually grows outward into the sea, owing to the deposits of river silt; peninsulas and islands are formed around the river mouths from the sand dropped by the ocean currents; and a double process of land-making goes on.

Land-making
in the
estuary.

The great Indian rivers, therefore, have not only supplied new solid ground by draining off the water from neighbouring lakes and marshes in their upper courses, and by depositing islands in their beds lower down. They are also constantly filling up the low-lying tracts or swamps in their deltas, and are forming banks and capes and masses of low-lying land at their mouths. Indeed, they slowly construct their entire deltas by driving back the sea. Lower Egypt was thus 'the gift of the Nile,' according to her priests in the age of Herodotus; and the vast Province of Lower Bengal is in the strictest scientific sense the gift of the Ganges, the Brahmaputra, and the Meghná. The deltas of these three river systems are in modern times united into one, but three distinct delta-heads are observable. The delta-head of the Brahmaputra commences near the bend where the river now twists due south round the Gáro Hills, 220 miles from the sea as the crow flies. The present delta-head of the Ganges begins at the point where the Bhágrathí breaks southward from the main channel, also about 220 miles in a direct line from the sea. The delta of the Meghná, which represents the heavy southern rainfall of the Khási Hills together with the western drainage of the watershed between Bengal and Independent Burma, commences in Sylhet District.

Egypt, the
'Gift of
the Nile.'

Bengal,
the 'Gift
of the
Ganges.'

The three deltas, instead of each forming a triangle like the Greek Δ , unite to make an irregular parallelogram, running inland 220 miles from the coast, with an average breadth also of about 220 miles. This vast alluvial basin of say 50,000 square miles was once covered with the sea, and it has been slowly filled up to the height of at least 400 feet by the deposits which the rivers have brought down. In other words, the united river systems of the Ganges, Brahmaputra, and Meghná have torn away from the Himálayas and North-eastern Bengal enough earth to build up a lofty island, with an area of 50,000 square miles, and a height of 400 feet.

Size of the
Bengal
delta.

Successive
depressions of
the delta.

Care has been taken not to overstate the work performed by the Bengal rivers. Borings have been carried down to 481 feet at Calcutta, but the auger broke at that depth, and it is impossible to say how much farther the alluvial deposits may go. There seem to have been successive eras of vegetation, followed by repeated depressions of the surface. These successive eras of vegetation now form layers of stumps of trees, peat-beds, and carbonized wood. Passing below traces of recently submerged forests, a well-marked peat-bed is found in excavations around Calcutta at a depth varying from 20 to 30 feet; and decayed wood, with pieces of fine coal, such as occur in mountain streams, has been met with at a depth of 392 feet. Fossilized remains of animal life have been brought up from 372 feet below the present surface. The footnote¹ illustrates the successive layers of the vast and lofty island, so to speak, which the rivers have built up—an island with an area of 50,000 square miles, and 400 feet high from its foundation, although at places only a few inches above sea-level.

Its subterranean structure.

¹ 'Abstract Report of Proceedings of Committee appointed to superintend the Borings at Fort-William, December 1835 to April 1840.' 'After penetrating through the surface soil to a depth of about 10 feet, a stratum of stiff blue clay, 15 feet in thickness, was met with. Underlying this was a light-coloured sandy clay, which became gradually darker in colour from the admixture of vegetable matter, till it passed into a bed of peat, at a distance of about 30 feet from the surface. Beds of clay and variegated sand, intermixed with *kankar*, mica, and small pebbles, alternated to a depth of 120 feet, when the sand became loose and almost semi-fluid in its texture. At 152 feet, the quicksand became darker in colour and coarser in grain, intermixed with red water-worn nodules of hydrated oxide of iron, resembling to a certain extent the laterite of South India. At 159 feet, a stiff clay with yellow veins occurred, altering at 163 feet remarkably in colour and substance, and becoming dark, friable, and apparently containing much vegetable and ferruginous matter. A fine sand succeeded at 170 feet, and this gradually became coarser, and mixed with fragments of quartz and felspar, to a depth of 180 feet. At 196 feet, clay impregnated with iron was passed through; and at 221 feet sand recurred, containing fragments of limestone with nodules of *kankar* and pieces of quartz and felspar; the same stratum continued to 340 feet; and at 350 feet a fossil bone, conjectured to be the humerus of a dog, was extracted. At 360 feet, a piece of supposed tortoiseshell was found, and subsequently several pieces of the same substance were obtained. At 372 feet, another fossil bone was discovered, but it could not be identified, from its being torn and broken by the borer. At 392 feet, a few pieces of fine coal, such as are found in the beds of mountain streams, with some fragments of decayed wood, were picked out of the sand, and at 400 feet a piece of limestone was brought up. From 400 to 481 feet, fine sand, like that of the seashore, intermixed largely with shingle composed of fragments of primary rocks, quartz, felspar, mica, slate, and limestone, prevailed, and in this stratum the bore has been terminated.'

It should be remembered, however, that the rivers have been aided in their work by the sand deposited by the ocean currents. But, on the other hand, the alluvial deposits of the Ganges and Brahmaputra commence far to the north of the present delta-head, and have a total area greatly exceeding the 50,000 square miles mentioned in a former paragraph. The Brahmaputra has covered with thick alluvium the valley of Assam; its confluent, the Meghná, or rather the upper waters which ultimately form the Meghná, have done the same fertilizing task for the valleys of Cachar and Sylhet; while the Ganges, with its mighty feeders, has prepared for the uses of man thousands of square miles of land in the broad hollow between the Himálayas and the Vindhya, far to the north-west of its present delta. A large quantity of the finest and lightest silt, moreover, is carried out to sea, and discolours the Bay of Bengal 150 miles from the shore. The plains of Bengal are truly the gift of the great rivers.

Several attempts have been made to estimate the time which the Ganges and Brahmaputra must have required for accomplishing their gigantic task. The borings already cited, together with an admirable account by Colonel Baird Smith in the *Calcutta Journal of Natural History*,¹ and the Rev. Mr. Everest's calculations, form the chief materials for such an estimate. Sir Charles Lyell² accepts Mr. Everest's calculation, made half a century ago, that the Ganges discharges 6368 millions of cubic feet of silt per annum at Gházipur.

This would alone suffice to supply 355 millions of tons a year, or nearly the weight of 60 replicas of the Great Pyramid. 'It is scarcely possible,' he says, 'to present any picture to the mind which will convey an adequate conception of the mighty scale of this operation, so tranquilly and almost insensibly carried on by the Ganges.' About 96 per cent. of the whole deposits are brought down during the four months of the rainy season, or as much as could be carried by 240,000 ships, each of 1400 tons burthen. The work thus done in that season may be realized if we suppose that a daily succession of fleets, each of two thousand great ships, sailed down the river during the four months, and that each ship of the daily 2000 vessels deposited a freight of 1400 tons of mud every morning into the estuary.

¹ Vol. i. p. 324. The other authorities, chiefly from the *Journal* of the Bengal Asiatic Society, are fully quoted in the *Geology of India*, by Messrs. Medlicott and Blanford, vol. i. pp. 396 *et seq.* (Calcutta Government Press, 1879).

² *Principles of Geology*, vol. i. pp. 478 *et seq.* (1875).

Estimated
silt of
united
river
system at
the delta.

But the Ganges at Gházipur is only a single feeder of the mighty mass of waters which have formed the delta of Bengal. The Ganges, after leaving Gházipur, receives many of its principal tributaries, such as the GOGRA, the SON, the GANDAK, and the KUSI. It then unites with the Brahmaputra, and finally with the Meghná, and the total mass of mud brought down by these combined river systems is estimated by Sir Charles Lyell to be at least six or seven times as much as that discharged by the Ganges alone at Gházipur. We have therefore, at the lowest estimate, about 40,000 millions of cubic feet of solid matter spread over the delta, or deposited at the river mouths, or carried out to sea, each year; according to Sir Charles Lyell, five times as much as is conveyed by the Mississippi to its delta and the Gulf of Mexico. The silt borne along during the rainy season alone represents the work which a daily succession of fleets, each of 13,000 ships a-piece, sailing down the Ganges during the four rainy months would perform, if each ship of the daily 13,000 vessels discharged a freight of 1400 tons a-piece each morning into the Bay of Bengal. This vast accumulation of silt takes place every rainy season in the delta or around the mouths of the Ganges; and the process, modified by volcanic upheavals and depressions of the delta, has been going on during uncounted thousands of years.

Time
required
by rivers to
construct
the delta.

General Strachey took the area of the delta and coast-line within influence of the deposits at 65,000 square miles, and estimated that the rivers would require 45·3 years to raise it by 1 foot, even by their enormous deposit of 40,000 millions of cubic feet of solid earth per annum. The rivers must have been at work 13,600 years in building up the delta 300 feet. But borings have brought up fluvial deposits from a depth of at least 400 feet. The present delta forms, moreover, but a very small part of the vast alluvial area which the rivers have constructed in the great dip between the Himálayas and the Vindhyan mountains. The more closely we scrutinize the various elements in such estimates, the more vividly do we realize ourselves in the presence of an almost immeasurable labour carried on during an almost immeasurable past.

River
irrigation.

The land which the great Indian rivers thus create, they also fertilize. In the lower parts of their course we have seen how their overflow affords a natural system of irrigation and manuring. In the higher parts, man has to step in, and to bring their water by canals to his fields. Some idea of the enormous irrigation enterprises of Northern India may be obtained in the four articles in *The Imperial Gazetteer* on the

Ganges and Jumna canals. The Ganges Canal had, in 1883, a length of 445 miles, with 3428 miles of distributaries; an irrigated area of 856,035 acres (including both autumn and spring crops); and a revenue of £279,449, on a total outlay of 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions sterling (£2,767,538 to 1883). The Lower Ganges Canal will bring under irrigation nearly 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ million acres (including both autumn and spring crops). It has already (1882-83) a main channel of 556 miles, with 1991 miles of distributaries; an irrigated area of 606,017 acres; and a clear revenue of £107,000, or 4'13 per cent. on the total outlay up to 1883 (£2,589,624). The Eastern Jumna Canal has a length of 130 miles, with 618 miles of main distributaries. In 1883, the total distributaries aggregated nearly 900 miles, with an irrigated area of 240,233 acres; and a revenue of £82,665, or 28'4 per cent. on the total outlay to that year (£290,839). The Western Jumna Canal measures 433 miles, with an aggregate of 259 miles of distributing channels, besides private watercourses, irrigating an area of 374,243 acres; with a revenue of £74,606, or 8'4 per cent. on a capital outlay to 1883 of £884,952. The four Ganges and Jumna Canals, therefore, already irrigate an aggregate area of over two million acres, and will eventually irrigate over three millions. Among many other irrigation enterprises in Upper India are the Agra, Bári Doáb, Rohilkhand and Bijnor, Betwá, and the Sutlej-Chenab and Indus Inundation Canals.

The Indian rivers form, moreover, as we have seen, the great highways of the country. They supply cheap transit for the collection, distribution, and export of the agricultural staples. What the arteries are to the living body, the rivers are to the plains of Bengal. But the very potency of their energy sometimes causes terrible calamities. Scarcely a year passes without floods, which sweep off cattle and grain stores and the thatched cottages, with anxious families perched on their roofs.

The Rivers
as high-
ways.

The Rivers
as de-
stroyers.

In their upper courses, where their water is carried by canals to the fields, the rich irrigated lands breed fever, and are in places rendered sterile by a saline crust called *reh*. Farther down, the uncontrollable rivers wriggle across the face of the country, deserting their old beds, and searching out new channels for themselves, sometimes at a distance of many miles. Their old banks, clothed with trees and dotted along their route with villages, run like high ridges through the level rice-fields, and mark the deserted course of the river.

It has been shown how the Brahmaputra deserted its main channel of the last century, and now rushes to the sea by a

Changes
of river-
beds.

new course, far to the westwards. Such changes are on so vast a scale, and the eroding power of the current is so irresistible, that it is perilous to build large or permanent structures on the margin. The ancient sacred stream of the Ganges is now a dead river, which ran through the Districts of Húglí and the 24 Parganás. Its course is marked by a line of tanks and muddy pools, with temples, shrines, and burning *gháts* along high banks overlooking its deserted bed.

Deserted
river-
capitals.

Many decayed or ruined cities attest the alterations in river-beds within historic times. In our own days, the Ganges passed close under Rájmahal, and that town, once the Muhammadan capital of Bengal, was (1850-55) selected as the spot where the railway should tap the river system. The Ganges has now turned away in a different direction, and left the town high and dry, 7 miles from the bank. In 1787-88, the TISTA, a great river of Northern Bengal, broke away from its ancient bed. The ATRAI, or the old channel, by which the Tístá waters found their way into the Ganges, has dwindled into a petty stream, which, in the dry weather, just suffices for boats of 2 tons burthen; while the Tístá has branched to the eastwards, and now pours into the Brahmaputra. In 1870, the RAVI, one of the Five Rivers of the Punjab, carried away the famous shrine of the Sikhs near DERA NANAK, and still threatens the town.

If we go back to a more remote period, we find that the whole ancient geography of India is obscured by changes in the courses of the rivers. Thus, Hastinápur, the Gangetic capital of the Pándavas, in the Mahábhárata, is with difficulty identified in a dried-up bed of the Ganges, 57 miles north-east of the present Delhi. The once splendid capital of KANAUJ, which also lay upon the Ganges, now moulders in desolation 4 miles away from the modern river-bank. The remnant of its inhabitants live for the most part in huts built up against the ancient walls.

A similar fate on a small scale has befallen Kushtíá, the river terminus of the Eastern Bengal Railway. The channel silted up (1860-70), and the terminus had to be removed to Goálanda, farther down the river. On the HUGLI river¹ a succession of emporia and river-capitals have been ruined from the same cause, and engineering efforts are required to secure the permanence of CALCUTTA as a great port.

The bore

An idea of the forces at work may be derived from a single well-known phenomenon of the Húglí and the Meghná, the bore. The tide advances up their broad estuaries until checked

¹ See article HUGLI RIVER, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

by a rapid contraction of the channel. The obstructed influx, no longer able to spread itself out, rises into a wall of waters from 5 to 30 feet in height, which rushes onwards at a rate nearly double that of a stage-coach. Rennel stated that the Húglí *bore* ran from Húglí Point to Húglí Town, a distance of about 70 miles, in four hours. The native boatmen fly from the bank (against which their craft would otherwise be dashed) into the broad mid-channel when they hear its approaching roar. The *bore* of the Meghná is so 'terrific and dangerous' that no boat will venture down certain of the channels at spring-tide.

The Indian rivers not only desert the cities on their banks, Hamlets, but they sometimes tear them away. Many a hamlet and ^{torn away.} rice-field and ancient grove of trees is remorselessly eaten up each autumn by the current. A Bengal proprietor has often to look on helplessly while his estate is being swept away, or converted into the bed of a broad, deep river. An important branch of Indian legislation deals with the proprietary changes thus caused by alluvion and diluvion.

The rivers have a tendency to straighten themselves out. River-windings. Their course consists of a series of bends, in each of which the current sets against one bank, which it undermines; while it leaves still water on the other bank, in which new deposits of land take place. By degrees these twists become sharper and sharper, until the intervening land is almost worn away, leaving only a narrow tongue between the bends. The river finally bursts through the slender strip of soil, or a canal is cut across it by human agency, and direct communication is thus established between points formerly many miles distant by the windings of the river. This process of eating away soil from the one bank, against which the current sets, and depositing silt in the still water along the other bank, is constantly at work. Even in their quiet moods, therefore, the rivers steadily steal land from the old owners, and give it to new ones.

During the rains these forces work with uncontrollable fury. A railway terminus swept away. We have mentioned that the first terminus of the Eastern Bengal Railway at Kushtíá had been partially deserted by the Ganges. Its new terminus at Goálánda has suffered from an opposite but equally disastrous accident. Up to 1875, the Goálánda station stood upon a massive embankment near the water's edge, protected by masonry spurs running out to the river. About £130,000 had been spent upon these protective works, and it was hoped that engineering skill had conquered the violence of the Gangetic floods. But in August 1875, the

solid masonry spurs, the railway station, and the magistrate's court, were all swept away; and deep water covered their site. A new Goálanda terminus had to be erected two miles inland from the former river-bank. Higher up the Ganges, fluvial changes on so great a scale have been encountered at the river-crossing, where the Northern Bengal Railway begins and the Eastern Bengal Railway ends, that no costly or permanent terminus has yet been attempted. Throughout the long courses of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, the mighty currents each autumn undermine and then rend away many thousand acres of solid land. They afterwards deposit their spoil in their channels farther down, and thus, as has been shown, leave high and dry in ruin many an ancient city on their banks.

Poetry of
Indian
river-
names.

Their work, however, is on the whole beneficent; and a poem of Ossian might be made out of the names which the Indian peasant applies to his beloved rivers. Thus, we have the Goddess of Flowing Speech (*Saraswatí*), or, according to another derivation, the River of Pools; the Streak of Gold (*Suvarna-rekhá*); the Glancing Waters (*Chitra*); the Dark Channel (*Kála-nadí*), or the Queen of Death (*Káli-nadí*); the Sinless One (*Pápaginí = Pápahiní*); the Arrowy (*Sharavatí*); the Golden (*Suvarnamatí*); the Stream at which the Deer Drinks (*Haringhátá*); the Forest Hope (*Banás*); the Old Twister (*Burabalang*); besides more common names, such as the All-Destroyer, the Forest King, the Lord of Strength, the Silver Waters, and the Flooder.

Crops of
the river
plains.

The three
harvests
of the
year.



Rice.

Throughout the river plains of Northern India, two harvests, and in some Provinces three, are reaped each year. These crops are not necessarily taken from the same land; but in most Districts the best situated fields yield two harvests within the twelve months. In Lower Bengal, pease, pulses, oil-seeds, and green crops of various sorts, are reaped in spring; the early rice crops in September; and the great rice harvest of the year in November and December. Before the last has been gathered in, it is time to prepare the ground for the spring crops, and the husbandman knows no rest except during the hot weeks of May, when he is anxiously waiting for the rains. Such is the course of agriculture in Lower Bengal. But it should always be remembered that rice is the staple crop in a limited area of India, and that it forms the everyday food of only about 70 millions, or under one-third of the population. It has been estimated that, in the absence of irrigation, the rice crop requires an annual rainfall of at least 36 inches; and an

Indian District requires an average fall of not less than 40 to 60 inches in order to grow rice as its staple crop. A line might almost be drawn across Behar, to the north of which rice ceases to be the staple food of the people; its place being taken by millets, and in a less degree by wheat. There are, indeed, rice-growing tracts in well-watered or low-lying Districts of Northern India, and in the river valleys or deltas and level strips around the southern coast. But speaking generally, throughout North-Western, Central, and Southern India (except in the coast strip), rice is consumed only by the richer classes.

The products of each Province are carefully enumerated in the separate provincial articles in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, and an account of the most important will be found under the heading of Agriculture in the present volume. They are here referred to only so far as is necessary to give a general idea of the scenery of the river plains. Along the upper and middle courses of the Bengal rivers, the country rises gently from their banks in fertile undulations, dotted with mud villages and adorned with noble trees. Mango groves scent the air with their blossom in spring, and yield their abundant fruit in summer. The spreading banyan, with its colonnades of hanging roots; the stately *pīpal*, with its green masses of foliage; the wild cotton-tree, glowing while still leafless with heavy crimson flowers; the tall, daintily-shaped tamarind, and the quick-growing *bābul*, rear their heads above the crop fields. As the rivers approach the coast, the palm-trees take possession of the scene. The ordinary landscape in the delta is a flat stretch of rice-fields, fringed round with an evergreen border of bamboos, cocoa-nuts, date-trees, areca, and other coronetted palms. This densely-peopled tract seems at first sight bare of villages, for each hamlet is hidden away amid its own grove of plantains and wealth-giving trees. The bamboo and cocoa-nut play a conspicuous part in the industrial life of the people; and the numerous products derived from them, including rope, oil, food, fodder, fuel, and timber, have been dwelt on with admiration by many writers.

The crops also change as we sail down the rivers. In the north, the principal grains are wheat, barley, Indian corn, and a variety of millets, such as *joār* (*Sorghum vulgare*) and *bājra* (*Pennisetum typhoideum*). In the delta, on the other hand, rice is the staple crop, and the universal diet. In a single District, Rangpur, there are 295 separate kinds of rice known to the peasant,¹ who has learned to grow his favourite

¹ *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. vii. pp. 234-237.

crop in every locality, from the comparatively dry ground, which yields the *aman* harvest, to the swamps 12 feet deep, on the surface of whose waters the rice ears may be seen struggling upwards for air. Sugar-cane, oil-seeds, flax, mustard, sesamum, palma-christi, cotton, tobacco, indigo, safflower and other dyes, ginger, coriander, red pepper, capsicum, cummin, and precious spices, are grown both in the Upper Provinces, and in the moister valleys and delta of Lower Bengal.

Drugs,
fibres, oil-
seeds, etc.

A whole pharmacopœia of medicines, from the well-known aloe and castor-oil, to obscure but valuable febrifuges, is derived from shrubs, herbs, and roots. Resins, gums, varnishes, india-rubber, perfume-oils, and a hundred articles of commerce or luxury, are obtained from the fields and the forests. Vegetables, both indigenous and imported from Europe, largely enter into the food of the people. The melon and huge yellow pumpkin spread themselves over the thatched roofs; fields of potato, *brinjal*, and yams are attached to the homesteads. The tea-plant is reared on the hilly ranges which skirt the plains both in the North-West and in Assam; the opium poppy about half-way down the Ganges, around Benares and in Behar; the silkworm mulberry still farther down in Lower Bengal; while the jute fibre is essentially a crop of the delta, and would exhaust any soil not fertilized by river floods.

Jungle
products.

Even the jungles yield the costly lac and the *tasar* silk cocoons. The *mahud*, also a gift of the jungle, produces the fleshy flowers which form a staple article of food in many districts, and when distilled supply a cheap spirit. The *sál*, *sissu*, *tín*, and many other indigenous trees yield excellent timber. Flowering creepers, of gigantic size and gorgeous colours, festoon the jungle; while each tank bears its own beautiful crop of the lotus and water-lily. Nearly every vegetable product which feeds and clothes a people, or enables it to trade with foreign countries, abounds.

Third
Region of
India—
The
Southern
Tableland.

Having described the leading features of the Himálayas on the north, and of the great river plains at their base, we come now to the third division of India, namely, the three-sided table-land which covers the southern half or more strictly peninsular portion of India. This tract, known in ancient times as the Deccan (*Dakshin*), literally *The South*, comprised, in its widest application, the CENTRAL PROVINCES, BERAR, MADRAS, BOMBAY, MYSORE, with the Native Territories of the Nizám, Sindhia, Holkar, and other Feudatory chiefs. It had in 1881 an aggregate population of about 100 millions. For

the sake of easy remembrance, therefore, we may take the inhabitants of the river plains in the north at about 150 millions, and the inhabitants of the southern table-land at 100 millions.

The Deccan, in its local acceptation, is restricted to the high inland tract between the Narbadá (Nerbudda) and the Kistna rivers; but the term is also loosely used to include the whole country south of the Vindhya as far as Cape Comorin. Taken in this wide sense, it slopes up from the southern edge of the Gangetic plains. Three ranges of hills support its northern, its eastern, and its western side, the two latter meeting at a sharp angle near Cape Comorin.

The
Deccan ;

Its three
supporting
mountain
walls.

The northern side is buttressed by confused ranges, with a general direction of east to west, popularly known in the aggregate as the Vindhya mountains. The Vindhya, however, are made up of several distinct hill systems. Two sacred peaks stand as outposts in the extreme east and west, with a succession rather than a series of ranges stretching 800 miles between. At the western extremity, Mount Abu, famous for its exquisite Jain temples, rises, as a solitary outlier of the Aravalli hills, 5653 feet above the Rájputána plains, like an island out of the sea. Beyond the southern limits of that plain, the Vindhya range of modern geography runs almost due east from Gujarát, forming the northern wall of the Narbadá valley. The Sátpura mountains stretch, also east and west, to the south of the Narbadá river, and form the watershed between it and the Tápti. Towards the heart of India, the eastern extremities of the Vindhya and Sátpuras end in the highlands of the Central Provinces. Passing still east, the hill system finds a continuation in the Káimur range and its congeners. These in their turn end in the outlying peaks and spurs that mark the western boundary of Lower Bengal, and abut on the old course of the Ganges under the name of the Rájmahál hills. On the extreme east, Mount Parasnáth—like Mount Abu on the extreme west, sacred to Jain rites—rises to 4479 feet above the Gangetic plain.

The
Vindhya
moun-
tains ;

their
various
ranges ;

The various ranges of the Vindhya, from 1500 to over 4000 feet high, form, as it were, the northern wall and buttresses which support the central table-land. But in this sense the Vindhya must be taken as a loose convenient generalization for the congeries of mountains and table-lands between the Gangetic plains and the Narbadá valley. Now pierced by road and railway, they stood in former times as a barrier of mountain and jungle between Northern and Southern India, and formed one of the main difficulties in welding the

ancient
barrier
between
Northern
and
Southern
India.

whole into an empire. They consist of vast masses of forests, ridges, and peaks, broken by cultivated tracts of the rich cotton-bearing black soil, exquisite river valleys, and high-lying grassy plains.

- The Gháts. The other two sides of the elevated southern triangle are known as the Eastern and Western GHÁTS. These ranges start southwards from the eastern and western extremities of the Vindhya, and run along the eastern and western coasts of India. The Eastern Gháts stretch in fragmentary spurs and ridges down the Madras Presidency, receding inland and leaving broad level tracts between their base and the coast.
- Eastern Gháts.
- Western Gháts. The Western Gháts form the great sea wall of the Bombay Presidency, with a comparatively narrow strip between them and the shore. Some of them rise in magnificent precipices and headlands out of the ocean, and truly look like colossal 'landing-stairs' (*gháts*) from the sea. The Eastern or Madras Gháts recede upwards to an average elevation of 1500 feet.
- The upheaved southern angle. The Western or Bombay Gháts ascend more abruptly from the sea to an average height of about 3000 feet, with peaks up to 4700, along the coast; rising to 7000 feet and even 8760 feet in the upheaved angle where they unite with the Eastern Gháts, towards their southern extremity.
- The central triangular plateau. The inner triangular plateau thus enclosed lies from 1000 to 3000 feet above the level of the sea. But it is dotted with peaks and seamed with ranges exceeding 4000 feet in height. Its best known hills are the Nilgiris (Blue Mountains), with the summer capital of Madras, Utakamand, over 7000 feet above the sea. Their highest point is Dodábeta peak, 8760 feet, in the upheaved southern angle. The interior plateau is approached by several famous passes from the level coast-strip on the western side. The Bhor-Ghát, for example, ascends a tremendous ravine about 40 miles south-east of Bombay city, to a height of 2027 feet. In ancient times it was regarded as the key to the Deccan, and could be held by a small band against any army attempting to penetrate from the coast. A celebrated military road was constructed by the British up this pass, and practically gave the command of the interior to the then rising port of Bombay. A railway line has now been carried up the gorge, twisting round the shoulders of mountains, tunnelling through intervening crags, and clinging along narrow ledges to the face of the precipice. At one point the zigzag is so sharp as to render a circuitous turn impossible, and the trains have to stop and reverse their direction on a levelled terrace. The Thall Ghát (1912 feet), to the north-
- Passes from the coast; the Bhor-Ghát

east of Bombay, has in like manner been scaled both by road and railway. Another celebrated pass, farther down the coast, connects the military centre of Belgaum with the little port of Vengurla. and the
Thall
Ghát.

These 'landing-stairs' from the sea to the interior present scenes of rugged grandeur. The trap rocks stand out, after ages of denudation, like circular fortresses flanked by round towers and crowned with nature's citadels, from the mass of hills behind; natural fastnesses, which in the Maráthá times were rendered impregnable by military art. In the south of Bombay, the passes climb up from the sea through thick forests, the haunt of the tiger and the mighty bison. Still farther down the coast, the western mountain wall dips deep into the Palghát valley—a remarkable gap, 20 miles broad, and leading by an easy route, only 1000 feet in height, from the seaboard to the interior. Hill forts.

The Pal-
ghát Pass. A third railway and military road penetrate by this passage from Beypur, and cross the peninsula to Madras. A fourth railway starts inland from the coast at the Portuguese Settlement of Goa.

On the eastern side of India, the Gháts form a series of spurs and buttresses for the elevated inner plateau rather than a continuous mountain wall. They are traversed by a number of broad and easy passages from the Madras coast. Through these openings, the rainfall of the southern half of the inner plateau reaches the sea. The drainage from the northern or Vindhyan edge of the three-sided table-land falls into the Ganges. The Narbadá (Nerbudda) and Tápti carry the rainfall of the southern slopes of the Vindhya and of the Sátputra Hills, by two almost parallel lines, into the Gulf of Cambay. But from Surat, in lat. $21^{\circ} 28'$, to Cape Comorin, in lat. $8^{\circ} 4'$, no great river succeeds in piercing the Western Gháts, or in reaching the Bombay coast from the interior table-land. The rivers
of the
inner
plateau;

no exit
west-
wards;

The Western Gháts form, in fact, a lofty unbroken barrier between the waters of the central plateau and the Indian Ocean. The drainage has therefore to make its way across India to the eastwards, now foaming and twisting sharply round projecting ranges, then tumbling down ravines, roaring through rapids, or rushing along valleys, until the rain which the Bombay sea-breeze has dropped on the ridges of the Western Gháts finally falls into the Bay of Bengal. In this way, the three great rivers of the Madras Presidency, viz. the Godávari, the Kistna (Krishna), and the Káveri (Cauvery), rise in the mountains overhanging the Bombay coast, and traverse the whole breadth of the central its drain-
age east-
wards.

table-land before they reach the sea on the eastern shores of India.

Historical
signifi-
cance of
the Eastern
and West-
ern Gháts ;

and of the
rainfall.

The physical geography and the political destiny of the two sides of the Indian peninsula have been determined by the characteristics of the mountain ranges on either coast. On the east, the Madras country is comparatively open, and was always accessible to the spread of civilisation. On the east, therefore, the ancient dynasties of Southern India fixed their capitals. Along the west, only a narrow strip of lowland intervenes between the barrier range and the Bombay seaboard. This western tract long remained apart from the civilisation of the eastern coast. To our own day, one of its ruling races, the Nairs, retain land tenures and social customs, such as polyandry, which mark a much ruder stage of human advancement than Hinduism, and which in other parts of India only linger among isolated hill tribes. On the other hand, the people of this western or Bombay coast enjoy a bountiful rainfall, unknown in the inner plateau and the east. The monsoon dashes its rain-laden clouds against the Western Gháts, and pours from 100 to 200 inches of rain upon their maritime slopes from Khándesh down to Malabár. By the time the monsoon has crossed the Western Gháts, it has dropped the greater part of its aqueous burden ; and central Districts, such as Bangalore, obtain only about 35 inches. The eastern coast also receives a monsoon of its own ; but, except in the neighbourhood of the sea, the rainfall throughout the Madras Presidency is scanty, seldom exceeding 40 inches in the year. The deltas of the three great rivers along the Madras coast form, however, tracts of inexhaustible fertility ; and much is done by irrigation to husband and utilize both the local rainfall and the accumulated waters which the rivers bring down.

The Four
Forest
Regions of
Southern
India.

The ancient Sanskrit poets speak of Southern India as buried under forests. But much of the forest land has gradually been denuded by the axe of the cultivator, or in consequence of the deterioration produced by unchecked fires and the grazing of innumerable herds of cattle, sheep, and goats. Roughly speaking, Southern India consists of four forest regions—First, the Western Gháts and the plains of the Konkan, Malabár, and Travancore between them and the sea ; second, the Karnátik, with the Eastern Gháts, occupying the lands along the Coromandel coast and the outer slopes of the hill ranges behind them ; third, the Deccan, comprising the high plateaux of Haidarábád, the Ceded Districts, Mysore,

Coimbatore, and Salem; fourth, the forests of the Northern Circars in the Madras Presidency.

Each of these Districts has its own peculiar vegetation. That of the first region, or Western Gháts, largely consists of virgin forests of huge trees, with an infinite variety of smaller shrubs, epiphytic and parasitic plants, and lianas or tangled creepers which bind together even the giants of the forest. The king of these forests is the teak (*Tectona grandis*, *Linn.*). This prince of timber is now found in the greatest abundance in the forests of Kánara, in the Wynád, and in the Anamalai Hills of Coimbatore and Cochin. The *pín* tree (*Calophyllum inophyllum*, *Linn.*) is more especially found in the southernmost forests of Travancore and Tinneveli, where tall straight stems, fit for the spars and masts of seagoing ships, are procured. The jack fruit (*Artocarpus integrifolia*, *Linn.*) and its more common relation the *aini* (*Artocarpus hirsuta*, *Lam.*), furnish a pretty yellow-coloured timber; the blackwood (*Dalbergia latifolia*, *Roxb.*) yields huge logs excellent for carved furniture. The Terminalias (*T. tomentosa* and *T. paniculata*, *W. and A.*) with the benteak (*Lagerstroemia microcarpa*, *Wight.*) supply strong wood suitable for the well-built houses of the prosperous population of Malabár and Travancore. The dammer tree or Indian copal (*Vateria indica*, *Linn.*) yields its useful resin. The ground vegetation supplies one of the most valuable of Indian exports, the cardamom. To enumerate all the important trees and products of the Western Gháts would, however, be impossible.

In the Karnátik region, the forests rarely consist of large timber, in consequence of the drier climate and the shorter monsoon rains. Nor are they of a wide area. Most of the forests consist of what is known as 'Evergreen Scrub,' in which the prominent trees are the *Eugenia jambolana*, *Lam.*, *Mimusops indica*, *Linn.*, and the strychnine (*Strychnos nux-vomica*, *Linn.*). On the slopes of the hills deciduous forest appears with teak, Terminalias, Anogeissus, and occasional red sanders.

The Deccan region, which gets a share of both monsoons (namely the monsoon from the south-west from June to September, and that from the north-east from September to January), has still some large areas covered with fine forest, and yielding good timber. Chief among these areas are the Nallamalai Hills of Karnul, the Pálkonda Hills of Cuddapah, the Collegal Hills of Coimbatore, and the Shevaroy and Javadi ranges of Salem and North Arcot. In the Nallamalai Hills, *bijasál* (*Pterocarpus Marsupium*, *Roxb.*) and *sáj* (Ter-

Forests of
Western
Gháts.

Forests of
Eastern
Gháts and
Karnátik.

Forests
of the
Deccan.

minalia tomentosa, *W. and A.*) are the prevailing timbers; the valuable red sanders-wood (*Pterocarpus santalinus*, *Linn.*) has its home in the Pálkonda and adjoining ranges of Cuddapah, while the growth on the hills of Coimbatore includes the precious sandal-wood (*Santalum album*, *Linn.*). In the drier country of Bellary and Penukonda, the chief tree is the *anjan* (*Hardwickia binata*, *Roxb.*), furnishing the hardest and heaviest of Indian woods.

Forests of
Northern
Madras.

The fourth forest region is that of the Northern Circars. It stretches from the Kistna river up to the Chilka lake, and includes fine forests of almost untouched *sál* (*Shorea robusta*, *Gaert.*), the iron-wood (*Xylia dolabriformis*, *Benth.*), the satin-wood (*Chloroxylon Swietenia*, *D.C.*), and many other timbers of value.

Scenery of
southern
hill
country.

In wild tropical beauty nothing can surpass the luxuriance of an untouched Coorg forest, as viewed from one of the peaks of the Western Gháts. A waving descent of green, broken into terraces of varying heights, slopes downward on every side. North and south run parallel ranges of mountains, wooded almost to the summit; while to the west, thousands of feet below, the view is bounded by the blue line of the Arabian Sea. Wild animals of many kinds breed in the jungle, and haunt the grassy glades. The elephant, the tiger, and the leopard, the mighty bison, the stately *sámbar* deer, and the jungle sheep, with a variety of smaller game, afford adventure to the sportsman. During the rains magnificent cataracts dash over the precipices. The Gersappa falls, in the Western Gháts, have a descent of 830 feet.

Crops of
Southern
India.

In the valleys, and upon the elevated plains of the central plateau, tillage is driving back the jungle to the hilly recesses, and fields of wheat and many kinds of smaller grain or millets, tobacco, cotton, sugar-cane, and pulses, spread over the open country. The black soil of Southern India, formed from the detritus of the trap mountains, is proverbial for its fertility; while the level strip between the Western Gháts and the sea rivals even Lower Bengal in its fruit-bearing palms, rice harvests, and rich succession of crops. The deltas of the rivers which issue from the Eastern Gháts are celebrated as rice-bearing tracts. But the interior of the table-land is liable to droughts. The cultivators here contend against the calamities of nature by varied systems of irrigation—by means of which they store the rain brought during a few months by the monsoon, and husband it for use throughout the whole year. Great tanks or lakes, formed by damming up the valleys, are a striking

feature of Southern India. The food of the common people consists chiefly of small grains, such as *jóár*, *bájra*, and *rágí*. The great export is cotton, with wheat from the northern Districts of the table-land. The pepper trade of Malabár dates from far beyond the age of Sindbad the Sailor, and reaches back to Roman times. Cardamoms, spices of various sorts, dyes, and many medicinal drugs, are also grown.

It is on the interior table-land, and among the hilly spurs which project from it, that the mineral wealth of India lies hid. Coal-mining now forms a great industry on the north-eastern side of the table-land, in Bengal; and also in the Central Provinces. Beds of iron-ore and limestone have been worked in several places, and hold out a possibility of a new era of enterprise to India in the future. Many districts are rich in building stone, marble, and the easily-worked laterite. Copper and other metals exist in small quantities. Golconda was long famous as the central mart for the produce of the diamond districts, which now yield little more than a bare living to the workers. Gold dust has from very ancient times been washed out of the river-beds; and quartz-crushing for gold is being attempted on scientific principles in Madras and Mysore.

Minerals ;
Coal,
Lime,
Iron.

We have now briefly surveyed the three regions of India. The first, or the Himálayan, lies for the most part beyond the British frontier; but a knowledge of it supplies the key to the climatic and social conditions of India. The second region, or the River Plains in the north, formed the theatre of the ancient race movements which shaped the civilisation and political destinies of the whole Indian peninsula. The third region, or the Triangular Table-land in the south, has a character quite distinct from either of the other two divisions, and a population which is now working out a separate development of its own. Broadly speaking, the Himálayas are peopled by Turanian tribes, although to a large extent ruled by Aryan immigrants. The great River Plains of Bengal are still the possession of the Indo-Aryan race. The Triangular Table-land has formed an arena for a long struggle between the Aryan civilisation from the north, and what is known as the Dravidian stock in the south.

Recapitulation :
the Three
Regions of
India.

Their
races and
lan-
guages.

To this vast Empire the English have added BRITISH BURMA, consisting of the lower valley of the Irawadi (Irrawaddy) with its delta, and a long flat strip stretching down the

British
Burma

eastern side of the Bay of Bengal. Between the narrow maritime tract and the Irawadi valley runs a backbone of lofty ranges. These ranges, known as the Yoma (Roma) mountains, are covered with dense forests, and separate the Irawadi valley from the strip of coast. The Yoma ranges have peaks exceeding 4000 feet, and culminate in the Blue Mountain, 7100 feet. They are crossed by passes, one of which, the An or Aeng, rises to 4517 feet above the sea-level. A thousand creeks indent the seaboard; and the whole of the level country, both on the coast and in the Irawadi valley, forms one vast rice-field. The rivers float down an abundant supply of teak and bamboos from the north. Tobacco, of an excellent quality, supplies the cigars which all Burmese (men, women, and children) smoke, and affords an industrial product of increasing value. Arakan and Pegu, or the Provinces of the coast strip, and also the Irawadi valley, contain mineral oil-springs. Tenasserim forms a long narrow maritime Province, running southward from the mouths of the Irawadi to Point Victoria, where the British territory adjoins Siam. Tenasserim is rich in tin mines, and contains iron-ores equal to the finest Swedish; besides gold and copper in smaller quantities, and a very pure limestone. Rice and timber form the staple exports of Burma; and rice is also the universal food of the people. British Burma, including Tenasserim, has an area of over 87,000 square miles; and a population, in 1881, of $3\frac{3}{4}$ million persons. It is fortunate in still possessing wide areas of yet uncultivated land to meet the wants of its rapidly increasing people.¹

Since these sheets went to press, the persistent misconduct of King Thebau in Upper Burma, his obstinate denial of justice, and his frustration of Lord Dufferin's earnest endeavours to arrive at a conciliatory settlement, compelled the British Government to send an expedition against him. A force under General Prendergast advanced up the Irawadi valley with little opposition, and occupied Mandalay. King Thebau surrendered, and was removed to honourable confinement in British India. His territories were annexed to the British Empire, by Lord Dufferin's Proclamation, on the 1st of January 1886.

Its valleys
and moun-
tains;

Its pro-
ducts.

Tenas-
serim.

Annexa-
tion of
Upper
Burma,
1886.

¹ *Vide post*, pp. 47, 50.

CHAPTER II.

THE PEOPLE.

THE POPULATION OF INDIA, with British Burma, amounted in 1881 to 256 millions, or, as already mentioned, more than double the number which Gibbon estimated for the Roman Empire in the height of its power. But the English Government has respected the possessions of native chiefs, and one-third of the country still remains in the hands of its hereditary rulers. Their subjects make about one-fifth of the whole Indian people. The British territories, therefore, comprise only two-thirds of the area of India, and about four-fifths of its inhabitants.

General
survey of
the People.

The native princes govern their States with the help of certain English officers, whom the Viceroy stations in native territory. Some of the Chiefs reign almost as independent sovereigns; others require more assistance, or a stricter control. They form a magnificent body of feudatory rulers, possessed of revenues and armies of their own. The more important of these princes exercise the power of life and death over their subjects; but the authority of each is limited by usage, or by treaties or engagements, acknowledging their subordination to the British Government. That Government, as Suzerain in India, does not allow its feudatories to make war upon each other, or to have any relations with foreign States. It interferes when any chief misgoverns his people; rebukes, and if needful removes, the oppressor; protects the weak; and firmly imposes peace upon all.

The Feu-
datory
Chiefs.

Their
various
powers.

The British possessions are distributed into twelve governments, each with a separate head; but all of them under the orders of the supreme Government of India, consisting of the Governor-General in Council. The Governor-General, who also bears the title of Viceroy, holds his court and government at Calcutta in the cold weather, and during summer at Simla, an outer spur of the Himálayas, 7000 feet above the level of the sea. The Viceroy of India, and the Governors of Madras and Bombay, are usually British statesmen appointed in England by the Queen. The heads of how the other ten Provinces are selected for their merit from the

British
India—the
Twelve
Provinces,

governed.

Anglo-Indian services, and are nominated by the Viceroy, subject in the case of the Lieutenant-Governorships to approval by the Secretary of State.

Census of
1881 and
of 1872.

The Census of 1881 returned a population of 256,396,646 souls for all India. The following tables give an abstract of the area and population of each of the British Provinces, and

THE TWELVE GOVERNMENTS OR PROVINCES OF
BRITISH INDIA, IN 1881.

| NAME OF PROVINCE (Exclusive of the Native States attached to it). | Area in Square Miles. | Total Population. | Number of Persons per Square Mile. |
|--|--------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| 1. Government of Madras, ¹ | 141,001 | 31,170,631 | 221 |
| 2. Government of Bombay, with Sind. | 124,122 | 16,454,114 | 133 |
| 3. Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, ² | 150,588 | 66,691,456 | 443 |
| 4. Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab, | 106,632 | 18,850,437 | 177 |
| 5. Lieutenant-Governorship of the North- Western Provinces, | 106,111 | 44,107,869 | 416 |
| 6. Chief-Commissionership of Oudh, ³ | | | |
| 7. Chief-Commissionership of the Central Provinces, | 84,445 | 9,838,791 | 117 |
| 8. Chief-Commissionership of British Burma, | 87,220 | 3,736,771 | 43 |
| 9. Chief-Commissionership of Assam, ⁴ | 46,341 | 4,881,426 | 105 |
| 10. Commissionership of Berar, ⁵ | 17,711 | 2,672,673 | 151 |
| 11. Commissionership of Ajmere, | 2,711 | 460,722 | 170 |
| 12. Commissionership of Coorg, | 1,583 | 178,302 | 113 |
| Total for British India, ⁶ | 868,465 | 199,043,492 | 229 |

¹ Including the three petty States of Pudukota, Banganapalli, and Sandhūr.

² Exclusive of 5576 square miles of unsurveyed and half-submerged Sundarbans along the sea face of the Bay of Bengal. The Imperial Census Report does not distinguish between the Feudatory States and British territory in the returns for Bengal. The figures given above are taken from the Provincial Census Report, and refer to British territory only. The area and population of the Native States of Bengal are shown in the table on the next page.

³ Oudh has been incorporated, since 1877, with the North-Western Provinces. The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces is also Chief-Commissioner of Oudh.

⁴ Assam was separated from the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal in 1874, and erected into a Chief-Commissionership. The area includes an estimate for the unsurveyed tracts in the Cachar, Nágá, and Lakhimpur Hills.

⁵ Berar consists of the six 'Assigned Districts' made over to the British administration by the Nizám of Haidarábád for the maintenance of the Haidarábád Contingent, which he was bound by treaty to maintain, and in discharge of other obligations.

⁶ These figures are exclusive of the population of the British Settlement of Aden in Arabia (34,860), and of the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal (14,628). These places have not been included in the tables of the Imperial Census Report, as being outside the geographical limits of India.

groups of Native States, together with the French and Portuguese possessions in India. The population in 1872 was as follows:—British India, 186 millions; Feudatory States, over 54 millions; French and Portuguese possessions, nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of a million; total for all India, 240,931,521 in 1872.

THE THIRTEEN GROUPS OF NATIVE STATES FORMING
FEUDATORY INDIA, IN 1881.

| NAME OF STATE. | | Total Area in Square Miles. | Total Population. | Number of Persons per Square Mile. |
|--|--|-----------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| Under the Governor-General in Council. | 1. Rájputána, | 129,750 | 10,268,392 | 79 |
| | 2. Haidarábád (Nizám's Dominions) | 71,771 | 9,845,594 | 137 |
| | 3. Central Indian Agency and Bundelkhand, | 75,079 | 9,261,907 | 123 |
| | 4. Baroda, | 8,570 | 2,185,005 | 255 |
| | 5. Mysore, ¹ | 24,723 | 4,186,188 | 169 |
| | 6. Kashmír, ² | 80,900 | 1,534,972 | 19 |
| | 7. Manipur, | 8,000 | 221,070 | 27 |
| Under the Local Governments. | 8. Native States under Bombay Government, | 73,753 | 6,941,249 | 94 |
| | 9. Native States under Madras Government, | 8,091 | 3,001,436 | 370 |
| | 10. Native States under Bengal Government, | 36,634 | 2,845,405 | 78 |
| | 11. Native States under Punjab Government, | 35,817 | 3,861,683 | 108 |
| | 12. Native States under North-Western Provinces, | 5,125 | 741,750 | 145 |
| | 13. Native States under Central Provinces, | 28,834 | 1,709,720 | 59 |
| Total for Feudatory India, | | 587,047 | 56,604,371 | 96 |

If to the foregoing figures we add the French and Portuguese possessions, we obtain the total for all India. Thus—

ALL INDIA, INCLUDING BRITISH BURMA.

(Based chiefly on the Census of 1881.)

| | Area in Square Miles. | Population. | Number of Persons per Square Mile. |
|--|-----------------------|-------------|------------------------------------|
| British India, | 868,465 | 199,043,492 | 229 |
| Feudatory India, | 587,047 | 56,604,371 | 96 |
| Portuguese Settlements, | 2,365 | 475,172 | 201 |
| French Settlements, | 203 | 273,611 | 135 |
| Total for all India, including } British Burma, | 1,458,080 | 256,396,646 | 176 |

¹ Mysore was under direct British administration from 1830 to 1881, when it was restored to native rule on its young chief attaining his majority.

² The Kashmír figures relate to the year 1873.

Density of the population, compared with France and England. British India, therefore, supports a population much more than twice as dense as that of the Native States. If we exclude the outlying and lately-acquired Provinces of British Burma and Assam, the proportion is nearly three-fold, or 260 persons to the square mile. How thick this population is, may be realized from the fact that France had in 1876 only 180 people to the square mile; while even in crowded England, wherever the density approaches 200 to the square mile it ceases to be a rural population, and has to live, to a greater or less extent, by manufactures, mining, or city industries.¹ Throughout large areas of Bengal, two persons have to live on the proceeds of each cultivated acre, or 1280 persons to each cultivated square mile. The Famine Commissioners reported in 1880, that over 6 millions of the peasant holdings of Bengal, or two-thirds of the whole, averaged from 2 to 3 acres a-piece. Allowing only four persons to the holding, for men, women, and children, this represents a population of 24 millions struggling to live off 15 million acres, or a little over half an acre a-piece.

Absence of large towns. Unlike England, India has few large towns, and no great manufacturing centres. Thus, in England and Wales 42 per cent., or nearly one-half of the population in 1871, lived in towns with upwards of 20,000 inhabitants, while in British India only 4½ per cent., or not one-twentieth of the people, live in such towns. India, therefore, is almost entirely a rural country; and many of the so-called towns are mere groups of villages, in the midst of which the cattle are driven a-field, and ploughing and reaping go on. Calcutta itself has grown out of a cluster of hamlets on the bank of the Húglí; and the term 'municipality,' which in Europe is only applied to towns, often means in India a 'rural union,' or collection of homesteads for the purposes of local government.

Overcrowded Districts. We see, therefore, in India, a dense population of husbandmen. Wherever their numbers exceed 1 to the acre, or 640 to the square mile,—excepting in suburban districts or in irrigated tracts,—the struggle for existence becomes hard. At half an acre a-piece that struggle is terribly hard. In such Districts, a good harvest yields just sufficient food for the people; and thousands of lives depend each autumn on a few inches more or less of rainfall. The Government may, by great efforts, feed the starving in time of actual famine; but it cannot stop the yearly work of disease and death among a steadily underfed people. In these overcrowded tracts the

¹ Report on the Census of England and Wales for 1871.

population reaches the stationary stage. For example, in Allah-ábád District during twenty years, the inhabitants increased by only 6 persons in 10,000 each year. During the nine years from 1872 to 1881, the annual increase was 8 persons in 10,000. In still more densely-peopled localities upon the line of railway, facilities for migration have drained off the excessive population, and their total number in 1872 was less than it had been twenty years before. On the other hand, in thinly-peopled Provinces the inhabitants quickly multiply. Thus, when we obtained the District of Amherst in 1824 from the king of Burma, it had been depopulated by savage native wars. The British established their firm rule; people began to flock in; and by 1829 there were 70,000 inhabitants. In fifty years the population had increased by more than four-fold, or to 301,086 in 1881.

Under-
peopled
Provinces.

In some parts of India, therefore, there are more husbandmen than the land can feed; in other parts, vast tracts of fertile soil still await the cultivator. In England the people would move freely from the over-populated districts to the thinly-inhabited ones; but in India the peasant clings to his hereditary homestead long after his family has outgrown his fields. If the Indian races will only learn to migrate to tracts where spare land still abounds, they will do more than the utmost efforts of Government can accomplish to prevent famines.

The 'im-
mobile'
Indian
peasant.

The facts disclosed by the Census in 1872 and 1881 prove, indeed, that the Indian peasant has lost something of his old immobility. The general tendency of the population in Bengal is south and east to the newly-formed delta, and north-east to the thinly-peopled valleys of Assam. In 1881, it was ascertained that out of a specified population of 247 millions, nearly 6½ millions were living in Provinces in which they had not been born. But the clinging of the people to their old villages in spite of hardship and famine still forms a most difficult problem in India.

Move-
ments of
the people.

Throughout many of the hill and border tracts, land is so plentiful that it yields no rent. Any one may settle on a patch which he clears of jungle, exhausts the soil by a rapid succession of crops, and then leaves it to relapse into forest. In such tracts no rent is charged; but each family of wandering husbandmen pays a poll-tax to the chief, or to the Government under whose protection it dwells. As the inhabitants increase, this nomadic system of cultivation gives place to regular tillage. Throughout British Burma we see both methods at work side by side; while on the thickly-peopled plains of India the 'wandering

The
nomadic
system
of hus-
bandry.

husbandmen' have long since disappeared, and each household remains rooted to the same plot of ground during generations.

Labour
and land
in the last
century ;

In some parts of India, this change in the relation of the people to the land has taken place before our own eyes. Thus, in Bengal there was in the last century more cultivable land than there were husbandmen to till it. A hundred years of British rule has reversed the ratio ; and there are now, in some Districts, more people than there is land for them to till. This change has produced a silent revolution in the rural economy of the Province. When the English obtained Bengal in the last century, they found in many Districts two distinct rates of rent current for the same classes of soil. The higher rate was paid by the *thání ráyats*, literally 'stationary' tenants, who had their houses in the hamlet, and formed the permanent body of cultivators. These tenants would bear a great deal of extortion rather than forsake the lands on which they had expended labour and capital in digging tanks, cutting irrigation channels, and building homesteads. They were oppressed accordingly ; and while they had a right of occupation in their holdings, so long as they paid the rent, the very highest rates were squeezed out of them. The temporary or wandering cultivators, *paikhást ráyats*, were those who had not their homes in the village, and who could therefore leave it whenever they pleased. They had no right of occupancy in their fields ; but on the other hand, the landlord could not obtain so high a rent from them, as there was plenty of spare land in adjoining villages to which they could retire in case of oppression. The landlords were at that time competing for tenants ; and one of the commonest complaints which they brought before the Company's officials was a charge against a neighbouring proprietor of 'enticing away their cultivators' by low rates of rent.

and at the
present
day.

This state of things is now reversed in most parts of Bengal. The landlords have no longer to compete for tenants. It is the husbandmen who have to compete with one another for land. There are still two rates of rent. But the lower rates are now paid by the 'stationary' tenants, who possess occupancy rights ; while the higher or rack-rents are paid by the other class, who do not possess occupancy rights. In ancient India, the eponymous hero, or original village founder, was the man who cut down the jungle. In modern India, special legislation and a Forest Department are required to preserve the trees which remain. Not only has the country been stripped of its woodlands, but in many

Districts the pastures have been brought under the plough, to the detriment of the cattle. The people can no longer afford to leave sufficient land fallow, or under grass, for their oxen and cows.

It will be readily understood that in a country where, almost down to the present day, there was more land than there were people to till it, a high value was set upon the cultivating class. In tracts where the nomadic system of husbandry survives, no family is permitted by the native chief to quit his territory. For each household there pays a poll-tax. In many parts of India, we found the lower classes attached to the soil in a manner which could scarcely be distinguished from prædial slavery. In spite of our legislative enactments, this system lingered on during nearly a century of British rule. Our early officers in South-Eastern Bengal, especially in the great island of Sandwip, almost raised a rebellion by their attempts to liberate the slaves. Indeed, in certain tracts where we found the population very depressed, as in Behar, the courts have in our own day occasionally brought to light the survival of serfdom. A feeling still survives in the minds of some British officers against migrations of the people from their own Districts to adjoining ones, or to Native States.

If we except the newly-annexed Provinces of Burma and Assam, the population of British India is nearly three times more dense than the population of Feudatory India. This great disproportion cannot be altogether explained by differences in the natural capabilities of the soil. It would be for the advantage of the people that they should spread themselves over the whole country, and so equalize the pressure throughout. The Feudatory States lie interspersed among British territory, and no costly migration by sea is involved. That the people do not thus spread themselves out, but crowd together within our Provinces, is partly due to their belief that, on the whole, they are less liable to oppression under British rule than under native chiefs. But any outward movement of the population, even from the most densely-peopled English Districts, would probably be regarded with pain by the local officers. Indeed, the occasional exodus of a few cultivators from the overcrowded Province of Behar into the thinly-peopled frontier State of Nepál, has formed a subject of sensitive self-reproach. In proportion as we can enforce good government under the native chiefs of India, we should hope to see a gradual movement of the people into the Feudatory States. There is plenty of land in India for the whole

Serfdom
in India.

Unequal
pressure of
the popula-
tion on the
land.

population. What is required is not the diminution of the people, but their more equal distribution.

Census of 1881. The Census, taken in February 1881, shows an increase of 15½ millions for all India, or 6·4 per cent., during the nine years since 1872. But this general statement gives but an imperfect insight into the local increment of the people. For while in the southern Provinces, which suffered most from the famine of 1877-78, the numbers have stood still, or even receded, an enormous increase has taken place in the less thickly-peopled tracts. Thus, the British Presidency of Madras shows a diminution of 1·4 per cent.; while the Native State of Mysore, which felt the full effects of the long-continued dearth of 1876-79, had 17 per cent. fewer inhabitants in 1881 than in 1872. The Bengal population has increased by 11 per cent. in the nine years, notwithstanding the milder scarcity of 1874. But the great increase is in the outlying, under-peopled Districts of India, where the pressure of the inhabitants on the soil has not yet begun to be felt, and where thousands of acres still await the cultivator. In Assam the increase (1872-81) has been 19 per cent.—largely due to immigration; in the Central Provinces, with their Feudatory States and tracts of unreclaimed jungle, 25 per cent.; in Berar (adjoining them), 20 per cent.; while in Burma—which, most of all the British Provinces, stands in need of inhabitants—the nine years have added 36 per cent. to the population, equivalent to doubling the people in about twenty-five years.

The following table compares the results of the Census of 1872 with those of the Census of 1881. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Census of 1872 was not a synchronous one; and that in some of the Native States the returns of 1872 were estimates rather than actual enumerations.¹

POPULATION OF INDIA IN 1872 AND 1881.

| | In 1872. | In 1881. | Increase. | Per-centage. |
|--|-------------|-------------|------------|--------------|
| British Provinces, . . | 186,041,191 | 199,043,492 | 13,002,301 | 6·99 |
| Feudatory States, . . | 54,211,158 | 56,604,371 | 2,393,213 | 4·41 |
| French and Portuguese Possessions, . . . } | 679,172 | 748,783 | 69,611 | 10·25 |
| | 240,931,521 | 256,396,646 | 15,465,125 | 6·42 |

¹ The figures for 1872 in the above table are taken from the finally revised statements, after allowing for transfers of territory and the restoration of Mysore to Native rule. How far the increase in the French and

THE ETHNICAL HISTORY OF INDIA.—The statistical elucidation of the races and Provinces of India can only be effected by tabular forms. At the end of this volume, therefore, will be found a series of ten statements dealing with the various aspects of the Indian population.¹ The briefest summary of the ethnological elements which compose that population is all that can be here attempted.

European writers formerly divided the Indian population into two races—the Hindus and the Muhammadans. But when we look more closely at the people, we find that they consist of four well-marked elements. These are, first, the recognised non-Aryan Tribes, called the Aborigines, and their half-Hinduized descendants, numbering over 17½ millions in British India in 1872. Second, the comparatively pure offspring of the Aryan or Sanskrit-speaking Race (the Brāhmans and Rājputs), about 16 millions in 1872. Third, the great Mixed Population, known as the Hindus, which has grown out of the Aryan and non-Aryan elements (chiefly from the latter), 111 millions in 1872. Fourth, the Muhammadans, 41 millions. These made up the 186 millions of people under British rule in 1872. The same four-fold division applied to the population of the 54 millions in Feudatory India in 1872, but we do not know the numbers of the different classes.

The figures for 1872 are reproduced in the last paragraph, as the Census of 1881 adopted a different classification, which

Portuguese Possessions is due to more accurate enumeration in 1881, cannot be exactly ascertained.

¹ Viz.—Table I. Area, villages, houses, and population, etc., in each Province of British India in 1881.

- „ II. Distribution into town and country, or ‘towns and villages in British India.’
- „ III. Cultivated, cultivable, and uncultivable land in Provinces for which returns exist.
- „ IV. Population of British India classified according to age and sex.
- „ V. Population of British India classified according to religion.
- „ VI. Asiatic non-Indian population of British India classified according to birth-place.
- „ VII. Non-Asiatic population of British India classified according to birth-place.
- „ VIII. Town population of India, being a list of the 149 towns of British India, of which the population exceeds 20,000.
- „ IX. Population of British India according to education.
- „ X. Population of British India, classified according to caste, sect, and nationality.

does not so clearly disclose the ethnical elements of the people. This difference will be more fully explained in the next chapter.

According to the Census of 1881, the comparatively pure descendants of the Aryan race (the Bráhmans and Rájputs) still numbered 16 millions in British India; the mixed population, including lower caste Hindus, Aboriginal Tribes, and Christians, 138 millions; and the Muhammadans, 45 millions. These make up the 199 millions in British India in 1881. In the Feudatory States there appear to have been $5\frac{1}{4}$ millions of Bráhmans and Rájputs; $46\frac{1}{4}$ millions of lower caste Hindus and Aboriginal Tribes; and 5 millions of Muhammadans,—making up the $56\frac{1}{2}$ millions in Feudatory India in 1881. The aboriginal element of the population was chiefly returned as low-caste Hindus. Only $4\frac{3}{4}$ millions were separately registered as non-Aryans, or Aborigines in British India; and $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions in the Feudatory States; making $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions for all India in 1881.

Plan of this volume in dealing with the Indian Races and their history.

The following chapters first treat of each of these four classes separately, namely the non-Aryan or so-called aboriginal tribes; the Aryan immigrants from the north; the mixed population or Hindus; and the Muhammadans. These are the four elements which make up the present population. Their history, as a loosely-connected whole, after they had been pounded together in the mortar of Muhammadan conquest, will next be traced. A narrative of the events by which the English nation became answerable for the welfare of this vast section of the human family, will follow. Finally, it will be shown how the British Government is trying to discharge its solemn responsibility, and the administrative mechanism will be explained which has knit together the discordant races of India into a great pacific Empire.

The two races of pre-historic India.

Our earliest glimpses of India disclose two races struggling for the soil. The one was a fair-skinned people, which had lately entered by the north-western passes; a people of ARYAN, literally 'noble,' lineage, speaking a stately language, worshipping friendly and powerful gods. The other was a race of a lower type, who had long dwelt in the land, and whom the lordly new-comers drove back before them into the mountains, or reduced to servitude on the plains. The comparatively pure descendants of these two races were in 1872 nearly equal in numbers, total $33\frac{1}{2}$ millions; the intermediate castes, sprung chiefly from the ruder stock, make up the mass of the present Indian population.

CHAPTER III.

THE NON-ARYAN RACES.

THE present chapter treats of the lower tribes, an obscure people, who, in the absence of a race-name of their own, may be called the non-Aryans or Aborigines. They have left no written records; indeed, the use of letters, or of any simplest hieroglyphs, was to them unknown. The sole works of their hands which have come down to us are rude stone circles, and the upright slabs and mounds, beneath which, like the primitive peoples of Europe, they buried their dead. From these we only discover that, at some far-distant but unfixed period, they knew how to make round pots of hard, thin earthenware, not inelegant in shape; that they fought with iron weapons, and wore ornaments of copper and gold. Coins of Imperial Rome have been dug up from their graves. Still earlier remains prove that, long before their advent, India was peopled as far as the depths of the Central Provinces, by tribes unacquainted with the metals, who hunted and warred with polished flint axes and other deftly-wrought implements of stone, similar to those found in Northern Europe. And even these were the successors of yet ruder beings, who have left their agate knives and rough flint weapons in the Narbadá valley. In front of this far-stretching background of the early Metal and Stone Ages, we see the so-called Aborigines being beaten down by the newly-arrived Aryan race.

The Non-ARYANS or Aborigines.

Kistvaen-builders.

Flint weapons.

The struggle is commemorated by the two names which the victors gave to the early tribes, namely, the Dasyus, or 'enemies,' and the Dásas, or 'slaves.' The new-comers from the north prided themselves on their fair complexion, and their Sanskrit word for 'colour' (*varna*) came to mean 'race' or 'caste.' Their earliest poets, 3000 years ago, praised in the Rig-Veda their bright gods, who, 'slaying the Dasyus, protected the *Aryan colour*;' who 'subjected the black-skin to the Aryan man.' They tell us of their 'stormy deities, who rush on like furious bulls and scatter the black-skin.' The sacrificer gave thanks to his god for 'dispersing the slave bands of black descent,'

The Non-ARYANS as described by the Aryans.

The 'Black-skin.'

Flat-nosed.

Raw-eaters.

The 'Demons' of the Aryan race.

More civilised non-Aryan tribes.

The non-Aryans as they are.

and for sweeping away 'the vile Dasyan colour.' Moreover, the Aryan, with his finely-formed features, loathed the squat Mongolian faces of the Aborigines. One Vedic singer speaks of them as 'noseless' or flat-nosed, while another praises his own 'beautiful-nosed' gods. Indeed, the Vedic hymns abound in scornful epithets for the primitive tribes, as 'disturbers of sacrifices,' 'gross feeders on flesh,' 'raw-eaters,' 'lawless,' 'not-sacrificing,' 'without gods,' and 'without rites.' As time went on, and these rude tribes were driven back into the forest, they were painted in still more hideous shapes, till they became the 'monsters' and 'demons' of the Aryan poet and priest. Their race-name Dasyu, 'enemy,' thus grew to signify a devil, as the old Teutonic word for enemy (still used in that sense in the German *feind*) has become the English 'fiend.'

Nevertheless, all of them could not have been savages. We hear of wealthy Dasyus, and even the Vedic hymns speak of their 'seven castles' and 'ninety forts.' In later Sanskrit literature, the Aryans make alliance with aboriginal princes; and when history at length dawns on the scene, we find some of the most powerful kingdoms of India ruled by dynasties of non-Aryan descent. Nor were they devoid of religious rites, or of cravings after a future life. 'They adorn,' says an ancient Sanskrit treatise,¹ 'the bodies of their dead with gifts, with raiment, with ornaments; imagining that thereby they shall attain the world to come.' These ornaments are the bits of bronze, copper, and gold which we now dig up from beneath their rude stone monuments. In the Sanskrit epic which narrates the advance of the Aryans into Southern India, a non-Aryan chief describes his race as 'of fearful swiftness, unyielding in battle, in colour like a dark-blue cloud.'²

Let us now examine these primitive peoples, not as portrayed by their enemies 3000 years ago, but as they exist at the present day. Thrust back by the Aryans from the plains, they have lain hidden away in the recesses of the mountains, like the remains of extinct animals which palæontologists find in hill caves. India thus forms a great museum of races, in which we can study man from his lowest to his highest stages of culture. The specimens are not fossils or dry bones, but living communities, to whose widely-diverse conditions we have to adapt our administration and our laws.

¹ *Chandogya Upanishad*, viii. 8. 5; Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, ii. 396 (1874).

² *Rāmāyana* (ed. Gorresio), iii. 28. 18.

Among the rudest fragments of mankind are the isolated ^{The} Andaman islanders in the Bay of Bengal. The old Arab and ^{Andaman} European voyagers described them as dog-faced man-eaters. The English officers sent to the islands in 1855 to establish a Settlement, found themselves surrounded by naked cannibals of a ferocious type; who daubed themselves when festive with red earth, and mourned in a suit of olive-coloured mud. They used a noise like *crying* to express friendship or joy; bore only names of common gender, which they received before birth, and which therefore had to be applicable to either sex; and their sole conception of a god was an evil spirit, who spread disease. For five years they repulsed every effort at intercourse with showers of arrows; but our officers slowly brought them to a better frame of mind by building sheds for them near the British Settlement, where these poor beings might find shelter from the tropical rains, and receive medicines and food.

The Anamalai Hills, in Southern Madras, form the refuge ^{Anamalai} of a whole series of broken tribes. Five hamlets of long-haired, ^{hillmen.} wild-looking Puliars were found living on jungle products, mice, or any small animals they could catch; and worshipping demons. The Mundavers shrink from contact with the outside world, and possessed no fixed dwellings, but wandered over the innermost hills with their cattle, sheltering themselves under little leaf sheds, and seldom remaining in one spot more than a year. The thick-lipped, small-bodied Kaders, 'Lords of the Hills,' are a remnant of a higher race. These hills, now almost uninhabited, abound in the great stone monuments (kistvaens and dolmens) which the primitive tribes erected over their dead. The Nairs, or aborigines of South-Western India, still ^{The Nairs.} practise polyandry, according to which one woman is the wife of several husbands, and a man's property descends not to his own but to his sister's children. This system also appears among the Himálayan tribes.

In the Central Provinces, the aboriginal races form a large ^{Non-} proportion of the population. In certain Districts, as in the ^{Aryan} State of Bastár, they amounted in 1872 to three-fifths of the ^{tribes} inhabitants. Their most important race, the Gonds, have made ^{of the} some advances in civilisation; but the wilder tribes still cling ^{Central} to the forest, and live by the chase. Some of them are ^{Provinces.} reported to have used, within our own times, flint points for ^{The} their arrows. The Máriás wield bows of great strength, which ^{Gonds.} they hold with their feet while they draw the string with both hands. A still wilder tribe, the Máris, fled from their grass-built

Tax-gathering among the Márís.

huts on the approach of a stranger. Once a year a messenger came to them from the local Rájá to take their tribute, which consisted chiefly of jungle products. He did not, however, enter their hamlets, but beat a drum outside, and then hid himself. The shy Márís crept forth, placed what they had to give in an appointed spot, and ran back into their retreats.

The Juáangs or 'Leaf-wearers' of Orissa Hill States ;

clothed by Government.

Farther to the north-east, in the Tributary States of Orissa, there is a poor tribe, 10,000 in 1872, of Juáangs or Patuas, literally the 'leaf-wearers,' whose women wore no clothes. The only covering on the females consisted of a few strings of beads round the waist, with a bunch of leaves tied before and behind. Those under British influence were, in 1871, clothed by order of the Government, and their Chief was persuaded to do the same work for others. The English officer called together the clan, and after a speech, handed out strips of cotton for the women to put on. They then passed in single file, to the number of 1900, before him, made obeisance to him, and were afterwards marked on the forehead with vermilion, as a sign of their entering into civilised society. Finally, they gathered the bunches of leaves which had formed their sole clothing into a heap, and set fire to it. It is reported, however, that many of the Juáng women have since relapsed to their foliage attire.

A relic of the Stone Age.

Juáng dwellings.

This leaf-wearing tribe had no knowledge of the metals till quite lately, when foreigners came among them ; and no word existed in their own language for iron or any other metal. But their country abounds in flint weapons, so that the Juáangs form a remnant to our own day of the Stone Age. 'Their huts,' writes the officer who knows them best, 'are among the smallest that human beings ever deliberately constructed as dwellings. They measure about 6 feet by 8. The head of the family and all the females huddle together in this one shell, not much larger than a dog-kennel.' The boys and the young men of the village live in a building apart by themselves ; and this custom of having a common abode for the whole male youth of the hamlet is found among many aboriginal tribes in distant parts of India.

Himáláyan tribes.

Proceeding to the northern boundary of India, we find the slopes and spurs of the Himálayas peopled by a great variety of rude tribes. Some of the Assam hillmen have no word for expressing distance by miles nor any land measure, but reckon the length of a journey by the number of quids of tobacco or betel-leaf which they chew upon the way. As a rule, they are fierce, black, undersized, and ill-fed. They eked out a wretched

subsistence by plundering the more civilised hamlets of the Assam valley ; a means of livelihood which they have but slowly given up under British rule. Some of the wildest of them, like the independent Abars, are now engaged as a sort of irregular police, to keep the peace of the border, in return for a yearly gift of cloth, hoes, and grain. Their very names bear witness to their former wild life. One tribe, the Akas of Assam, is divided into two clans, known respectively as 'The eaters of a thousand hearths,' and 'The thieves who lurk in the cotton-field.'

Many of the aboriginal tribes, therefore, remain in the same early stage of human progress as that ascribed to them by the Vedic poets more than 3000 years ago. But others have made great advances, and form communities of a well-developed type. It must here suffice to briefly describe two such races ; the Santáls and the Kandhs who inhabit the north-eastern edge of the central plateau. The Santáls have their home among the hills which abut on the Ganges in Lower Bengal. The Kandhs live 150 to 350 miles to the south, among the highlands which look down upon the Orissa delta and Madras coast.

The Santáls dwell in villages in the jungles or among the mountains, apart from the people of the plains. They numbered about a million in 1872, and give their name to a large District, the SANTAL PARGANAS, 140 miles north-west of Calcutta. Although still clinging to many customs of a hunting forest tribe, they have learned the use of the plough, and settled down into skilful husbandmen. Each hamlet is governed by its own head-man, who is supposed to be a descendant of the original founder of the village, and who is assisted by a deputy head-man and a watchman. The boys of the hamlet have their separate officers, and are strictly controlled by their own head and his deputy till they enter the married state. The Santáls know not the cruel distinctions of Hindu caste, but trace their tribes, usually numbering seven, to the seven sons of the first parents. The whole village feasts, hunts, and worships together ; and the Santál had to take his wife, not from his own tribe, but from one of the six others. So strong is the bond of race, that expulsion from the tribe was the only Santál punishment. A heinous criminal was cut off from 'fire and water' in the village, and sent forth alone into the jungle. Minor offences were forgiven upon a public reconciliation with the tribe ; to effect which the guilty one provided a feast, with much rice-beer, for his clansmen.

The six
Santál
cere-
monies.

The chief ceremonies in a Santál's life, six in number, vary in different parts of the country, but are all based upon this strong feeling of kinship. The first is the admission of the newly-born child into the family,—a secret rite, one act of which consists in the father placing his hand on the infant's head and repeating the name of the ancestral deity. The second, the admission of the child into the tribe, is celebrated three or five days after birth,—a more public ceremony, at which the child's head is shaved, and the clansmen drink beer. The third ceremony, or admission into the race, takes place about the fifth year ; when all friends, whatever may be their tribe, are invited to a feast, and the child is marked on his right arm with the Santál spots. The fourth consists of the union of his own tribe with another by marriage, which does not take place till the young people can choose for themselves. At the end of the ceremony, the girl's clanswomen pound burning charcoal with the household pestle, in token of the breaking up of her former family ties, and then extinguish it with water, to signify the separation of the bride from her clan. The Santáls respect their women, and seldom or never take a second wife, except for the purpose of obtaining an heir. The fifth ceremony consists of the dismissal of the Santál from the race, by the solemn burning of his body after death. The sixth is the reunion of the dead with the fathers, by floating three fragments of the skull down the Dámodar river (if possible), the sacred stream of the race.

Santál
marriages.

Santál
religion.

The Santál had no conception of bright and friendly gods, such as the Vedic singers worshipped. Still less could he imagine one omnipotent and beneficent Deity, who watches over mankind. Hunted and driven back before the Hindus and Muhammadans, he did not understand how a Being could be more powerful than himself without wishing to harm him. 'What,' said a Santál to an eloquent missionary, who had been discoursing on the Christian God—'what if that strong One should eat me?' Nevertheless, the earth swarms with spirits and demons, whose ill-will he tries to avert. His religion consists of nature-worship, and offerings to the ghosts of his ancestors ; and his rites are more numerous even than those of the Hindus. First, the Race-god ; next, the Tribe-god of each of the seven clans ; then the Family-god, requires in turn his oblation. But besides these, there are the spirits of his forefathers, river-spirits, forest-spirits, well-demons, mountain-demons, and a mighty host of unseen beings, whom he must keep in good humour. He seems also to have borrowed from the Hindus some rites of sun-worship. But his own gods

Race-god ;
Tribe-
god ;
Family-
god ;
Demons.

dwell chiefly in the ancient *sāl* trees which shade his hamlets. Them he propitiates by offerings of blood ; with goats, cocks, and chickens. If the sacrificer cannot afford an animal, it is with a red flower, or a red fruit, that he draws near to his gods. In some hamlets, the people dance round every tree, so that they may not by evil chance miss the one in which the village-spirits happen to be dwelling.

Until nearly the end of the last century, the Santāls were the pests of the neighbouring plains. Regularly after the December harvest, they sallied forth from their mountains, plundered the lowlands, levied black-mail, and then retired with their spoil to their jungles. But in 1789, the British Government granted the proprietary right in the soil to the landholders of Bengal under the arrangements which four years later became the Permanent Settlement. Forthwith every landholder tried to increase the cultivated area on his estate, now become his own property. The Santāls and other wild tribes were tempted to issue from their fastnesses by high wages or rent-free farms. 'Every proprietor,' said a London newspaper, the *Morning Chronicle*, in 1792, 'is collecting husbandmen from the hills to improve his lowlands.' The English officers found they had a new race to deal with, and gradually won the highlanders to peaceful habits by grants of land and 'exemption from all taxes.' They were allowed to settle disputes 'among themselves by their own customs,' and they were used as a sort of frontier police, being paid to deliver up any of their own people who committed violent crimes. Such criminals, after being found guilty by their countrymen, were handed over for punishment to the English judge. The Santāls gained confidence in us by degrees, and came down in great numbers within the fence of stone pillars, which the British officers set up in 1832 to mark off the country of the hill people from the plains.

The Santāls under British rule.

They come forth from the hills.

The Hindu money-lender soon made his appearance in their settlements, and the simple hillmen learned the new luxury of borrowing. Our laws were gradually applied to them, and before the middle of this century most of the Santāl hamlets were plunged in debt. Their strong love of kindred prevented them from running away, and the Hindu usurers reduced them to a state of practical slavery, by threatening the terrors of a distant jail. In 1848, three whole villages threw up their clearings, and fled in despair to the jungle. In June 1855, the southern Santāls started in a body, 30,000 strong, with their bows and arrows, to walk 140 miles to Calcutta and

The Santāls sink into debt to the Hindus.

Santál
rising,
1855.

lay their condition before the Governor-General. At first they were orderly; but the way was long, and they had to live. Robberies took place; quarrels broke out between them and the police; and within a week they were in armed rebellion. The rising was put down, not without mournful bloodshed; and their wrongs were carefully inquired into. A very simple form of administration was introduced, according to which their village head-men were brought into direct contact with the English officer in charge of the District, and acted as the representatives of the people. Our system of justice and government has been adapted to their primitive needs, and the Santáls have for years been among the most prosperous of the Indian races.

The
Kandhs or
Kondhs.

The Kandhs, literally 'The Mountaineers,' a tribe about 100,000 strong in 1872, inhabit the steep and forest-covered ranges which rise inland from the Orissa delta, and the Madras Districts of Ganjáin and Vizagapatam. They form one of a group of non-Aryan races who still occupy the position assigned to them by the Greek geographers 1500 years ago. Before that early date, they had been pushed backwards by the advancing Aryans from the fertile delta which lies between the mountains and the sea. One section of the Kandhs was completely broken up, and has sunk into landless low-castes among the Aryan or Hindu communities at the foot of the hills. Another section stood its ground more firmly, and became a peasant militia, holding grants of land from the Hindu chiefs in return for military service. A third section fell back into the fastnesses of the mountains, and was recognised as a wild but free race. It is of this last section that the present chapter treats.

Breaking
up of the
race.

Kandh
patri-
archal
govern-
ment.

The Kandh idea of government is purely patriarchal. The family is strictly ruled by the father. The grown-up sons have no property during his life, but live in his house with their wives and children, and all share the common meal prepared by the grandmother. The clan consists of a number of families, sprung from a common father; and the tribe is made up in like manner from a number of clans who claim descent from the same ancestor. The head of the tribe is usually the eldest son of the patriarchal family; but if he be not fit for the post he is set aside, and an uncle or a younger brother appointed. He enters on no undertaking without calling together the heads of clans, who in their turn consult the heads of families.

Kandh
wars and
punish-
ments.

According to the Kandh theory of existence, a state of war might lawfully be presumed against all neighbours with

whom no express agreement had been made to the contrary. Murders were punished by blood-revenge, the kinsmen within a certain degree being one and all bound to kill the slayer, unless appeased by a payment of grain or cattle. The man who wounded another had to maintain the sufferer until he recovered from his hurt. A stolen article must be returned, or its equivalent paid; but the Kandh twice convicted of theft was driven forth from his tribe, the greatest punishment known to the race. Disputes were settled by combat, or by the ordeal of boiling oil or heated iron, or by taking a solemn oath on an ant-hill, or on a tiger's claw, or a lizard's skin. When a house-father died, leaving no sons, his land was parcelled out among the other male heads of the village; for no woman, nor indeed any Kandh, was allowed to hold land who could not with his own hand defend it.

The Kandh system of tillage represented a stage half-way between the migratory cultivation of the ruder non-Aryan tribes and the settled agriculture of the Hindus. They did not, on the one hand, merely burn down a patch in the jungle, take a few crops off it, and then move on to fresh clearings. Nor, on the other hand, did they go on cultivating the same fields from father to son. When their lands showed signs of exhaustion, they deserted them; and it was a rule in some of their settlements to change their village sites once in fourteen years. Caste is unknown; and, as among the Santáls, marriage between relations, or even within the same tribe, is forbidden. A Kandh wedding consisted of forcibly carrying off the bride in the middle of a feast. The boy's father paid a price for the girl, and usually chose a strong one, several years older than his son. In this way, Kandh maidens were married about fourteen, Kandh boys about ten. The bride remained as a servant in her new father-in-law's house till her boy-husband grew old enough to live with her. She generally acquired a great influence over him; and a Kandh may not marry a second wife during the life of his first one, except with her consent.

The Kandh engaged only in husbandry and war, and despised all other work. But attached to each village was a row of hovels inhabited by a lower race, who were not allowed to hold land, to go forth to battle, or to join in the village worship. These poor people did the dirty work of the hamlet, and supplied families of hereditary weavers, blacksmiths, potters, herdsmen, and distillers. They were kindly treated, and a portion of each feast was left for them. But they could never rise in the

Blood-revenge.

Kandh agriculture.

Kandh marriages by 'Capture.'

Serfs of the Kandh village.

social scale. No Kandh could engage in their work without degradation, nor eat food prepared by their hands. They can give no account of their origin, but are supposed to be the remnants of a ruder race whom the Kandhs found in possession of the hills when they themselves were pushed backwards by the Aryans from the plains.

Kandh
human
sacrifices.

The Kandhs, like the Santáls, have many deities, race-gods, tribe-gods, family-gods, and a multitude of malignant spirits and demons. But their great divinity is the Earth-god, who represents the productive energy of nature. Twice each year, at sowing-time and at harvest, and in all seasons of special calamity, the Earth-god required a human sacrifice (*meriah*). The duty of providing the victims rested with the lower race attached to the Kandh village. Brahmáns and Kandhs were the only classes exempted from sacrifice, and an ancient rule ordained that the offering *must be bought with a price*. Men of the lower race kidnapped the victims from the plains, and a thriving Kandh village usually kept a small stock in reserve, 'to meet sudden demands for atonement.' The victim, on being brought to the hamlet, was welcomed at every threshold, daintily fed, and kindly treated till the fatal day arrived. He was then solemnly sacrificed to the Earth-god, the Kandhs shouting in his dying ear, 'We bought you with a price; no sin rests with us!' His flesh and blood were distributed among the village lands.

The
victims.

The
sacrifice.

The
Kandhs
under
British
rule.

Human
sacrifices
abolished.

In 1835, the Kandhs passed under our rule, and these rites had to cease. The proud Kandh spirit shrank from compulsion; but after many tribal councils, they agreed to give up their stock of victims as a valuable present to their new suzerain. Care was taken that they should not procure fresh ones. The kidnapping of victims for human sacrifice was declared a capital offence; and their priests were led to discover that goats or buffaloes did quite as well for the Earth-god under British rule as human sacrifices. Until 1835, they consisted of separate tribes, always at war with each other and with the world. But under able English administrators (especially Campbell, Macpherson, and Cadenhead), human sacrifices were abolished, and the Kandhs were formed into a united and peaceful race (1837-45). The British officer removed their old necessity for tribal wars and family blood-feuds by setting himself up as a central authority. He adjusted their inter-tribal disputes, and punished heinous crimes. Lieutenant Charters Macpherson, in particular, won over the more troublesome clans to quiet industry, by grants of jungle tracts, of little use to us, but a

The race
won over
to peaceful
industry.

paradise to them, and where he could keep them well under his eye. He made the chiefs vain of carrying out his orders by small presents of cattle, honorific dresses, and titles. He enlisted the whole race on his side by picking out their best men for the police; and drew the tribes into amicable relations among themselves by means of hill-fairs. He constructed roads, and taught the Kandhs to trade, with a view to 'drawing them from their fastnesses into friendly contact with other men.' The race has prospered and multiplied under British rule.

Whence came these primitive peoples, whom the Aryan invaders found in the land more than 3000 years ago, and who are still scattered over India, the fragments of a pre-historic world? Written annals they do not possess. Their oral traditions tell us little; but such hints as they yield, feebly point to the north. They seem to preserve dim memories of a time when their tribes dwelt under the shadow of mightier hill ranges than any to be found on the south of the river plains of Bengal. 'The Great Mountain' is the race-god of the Santáls, and an object of worship among other tribes. Indeed, the Gonds, who numbered $1\frac{1}{2}$ million in the heart of Central India in 1872, have a legend that they were created at the foot of Dewágiri peak in the Himálayas. Till lately, they buried their dead with the feet turned northwards, so as to be ready to start again for their ancient home in the north.

But the language of the non-Aryan races, that record of a nation's past more enduring than rock-inscriptions or tables of brass, is being slowly made to tell the secret of their origin. It already indicates that the early peoples of India belonged to three great stocks, known as the Tibeto-Burman, the Kolarian, and the Dravidian.

The first stock, or Tibeto-Burman tribes, cling to the skirts of the Himálayas and their north-eastern offshoots. They crossed over into India by the north-eastern passes, and in some pre-historic time had dwelt in Central Asia, side by side with the forefathers of the Mongolians and the Chinese. Several of the hill languages in Eastern Bengal preserve Chinese terms, others contain Mongolian. Thus, the Nágás in Assam still use words for *three* and *water* which might almost be understood in the streets of Canton.¹

¹ The following are the twenty principal languages of the Tibeto-Burman group :—(1) Cachari or Bodo, (2) Gáro, (3) Tipura or Mrung, (4) Tibetan or Bhutiá, (5) Gurung, (6) Murmi, (7) Newar, (8) Lepchá, (9) Miri, (10) Aka, (11) Mishmi dialects, (12) Dhimal, (13) Kanáwari dialects, (14) Mikir, (15) Singpho, (16) Nágá dialects, (17) Kuki dialects, (18) Burmese,

(2) The
Kolarians

The Kolarians, the second of the three non-Aryan stocks, appear also to have entered Bengal by the north-eastern passes. They dwell chiefly in the north, and along the north-eastern edge, of the three-sided table-land which covers the southern half of India. The Dravidians, or third stock, seem, generally speaking, on the other hand, to have found their way into the Punjab by the north-western passes. They now inhabit the southern part of the three-sided table-land, as far down as Cape Comorin, the southernmost point of India. It appears as if the two streams, namely the Kolarian tribes from the north-east and the Dravidians from the north-west, had converged and crossed each other in Central India. The Dravidians proved the stronger, broke up the Kolarians, and thrust aside their fragments to east and west. The Dravidians then rushed forward in a mighty body to the south.

(3) The
Dravidians.

Their convergence
in Central
India.

The Kolarians
broken
up.

It thus came to pass that while the Dravidians formed a vast mass in Southern India, the Kolarians survived only as isolated tribes, so scattered as to soon forget their common

(19) Khyeng, and (20) Manipuri. 'It is impossible,' writes Mr. Brandreth, 'to give even an approximate number of the speakers included in this group, as many of the languages are either across the frontier or only project a short distance into our own territory. The languages included in this group have not, with perhaps one or two exceptions, both a cerebral and dental row of consonants, like the South-Indian languages; some of them have aspirated forms of the surds, but not of the sonants; others have aspirated forms of both. All the twenty dialects have words in common, especially numerals and pronouns, and also some resemblances of grammar. In comparing the resembling words, the differences between them consist often less in any modification of the root-syllable than in various additions to the root. Thus in Burmese we have *na*, "ear;" Tibetan, *rna-ba*; Magar, *na-kep*; Newar, *nai-pong*; Dhimal, *na-hathong*; Kiranti dialects, *na-pro*, *na-rék*, *na-phak*; Nágá languages, *te-na-ro*, *te-na-rang*; Manipuri, *na-kong*; Kupui, *ka-na*; Sak, *aka-na*; Karen, *na-khu*; and so on. It can hardly be doubted that such additions as these to monosyllabic roots are principally determinative syllables for the purpose of distinguishing between what would otherwise have been monosyllabic words having the same sound. These determinatives are generally affixed in the languages of Nepál and in the Dhimal language; prefixed in the Lepchá language, and in the languages of Assam, of Manipur, and of the Chittagong and Arakan Hills. Words are also distinguished by difference of tone. The tones are generally of two kinds, described as the abrupt or short, and the pausing or heavy. It has been remarked that those languages which are most given to adding other syllables to the root make the least use of the tones, and, *vice versa*, where the tones most prevail the least recourse is had to determinative syllables.'— This and the following quotations, from Mr. E. L. Brandreth, are condensed from his valuable paper in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, vol. x. (1877), pp. 1-32.

origin. We have seen one of the largest of the Kolarian races, the Santáls, dwelling on the extreme eastern edge of the three-sided table-land, where it slopes down into the Gangetic valley. The Kurkus, a broken Kolarian tribe, inhabit a patch of country about 400 miles to the west. They have for perhaps thousands of years been cut off from the Santáls by mountains and pathless forests, and by intervening races of the Dravidian and Aryan stocks. The Kurkus and Santáls have no tradition of a common origin; yet at this day the Kurkus speak a language which is little else than a dialect of Santáli. The Savars, once a great Kolarian tribe, mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, are now a poor wandering race of woodcutters in Northern Madras and Orissa. Yet fragments of them have lately been found deep in Central India, and as far west as Rájputána on the other side. The Juánga are an isolated non-Aryan remnant among an Aryan and Uriya-speaking population. They have forgotten, and disclaim, any connection with the Hos or other Kolarian tribes. Nevertheless, their common origin is attested by a number of Kolarian words which they have unconsciously preserved.¹

Scattered
Kolarian
fragments.

The compact Dravidians in the south, although in after-days

¹ The nine principal languages of the Kolarian group are—(1) the Santál, (2) Mundári, (3) Ho, (4) Bhumij, (5) Korwa, (6) Kharria, (7) Juánga, (8) Kurku, and perhaps (9) the Savar. Some of them, however, are separated only by dialectical differences. 'The Kolarian group of languages,' writes Mr. Brandreth, 'has both the cerebral and dental row of letters, and also aspirated forms, which last, according to Caldwell, did not belong to early Dravidian. There is also a set of four sounds, which are perhaps peculiar to Santáli, called by Skreksrud semi-consonants, and which, when followed by a vowel, are changed respectively into *g*, *j*, *d*, and *b*. Gender of nouns is animate and inanimate, and is distinguished by difference of pronouns, by difference of suffix of a qualifying noun in the genitive relation, and by the gender being denoted by the verb. As instances of the genitive suffix, we have in Santáli *in-ren hopon* "my son," but *in-ak orak* "my house." There is no distinction of sex in the pronouns, but of the animate and inanimate gender. The dialects generally agree in using a short form of the third personal pronoun suffixed to denote the number, dual and plural, of the noun, and short forms of all the personal pronouns are added to the verb in certain positions to express both number and person, both as regards the subject and object, if of the animate gender; the inanimate gender being indicated by the omission of these suffixes. No other group of languages, apparently, has such a logical classification of its nouns as is shown by the genders of both the South Indian groups. The genitive Kolarian group of the full personal pronouns is used for the possessive, which again takes all the post-positions, the genitive being thus indicated by the genitive suffix twice repeated. The languages generally express grammatical relations by suffixes, and positions directly to the root, without the intervention of an

The compact Dravidians of Southern India.]

Their offshoots beyond sea (?)

subdued by the higher civilisation of the Aryan race which pressed in among them, were never thus broken into fragments.¹ Their pure descendants consist, indeed, of small and scattered tribes; but they have given their language to 28 millions of people in Southern India. A theory has been started that some of the islands in the distant Pacific Ocean were peopled either from the Dravidian settlements in India, or from an earlier common source. Bishop Caldwell points out that the aboriginal tribes in Southern and Western Australia use almost the same words for *I, thou, he, we, you*, etc., as the Dravidian fishermen on the Madras coast; and resemble in other ways the Madras hill tribes, as in the use of their national weapon, the boomerang. The civilisation and literature which the Dravidians developed in Southern India will be described in a later chapter on the Indian vernaculars.

oblique form or genitive or other suffix. They agree with the Dravidian in having inclusive and exclusive forms for the plural of the first personal pronoun, in using a relative participle instead of a relative pronoun, in the position of the governing word, and in the possession of a true causal form of the verb. They have a dual, which the Dravidians have not, but they have no negative voice. Counting is by twenties, instead of by tens, as in the Dravidian. The Santali verb, according to Skrefsrud, has 23 tenses, and for every tense two forms of the participle and a gerund.¹

¹ Bishop Caldwell recognises twelve distinct Dravidian languages:—(1) Tamil, (2) Malayalam, (3) Telugu, (4) Kanarese, (5) Tulu, (6) Kudugu, (7) Toda, (8) Kota, (9) Gond, (10) Kandh, (11) Uraon, (12) Rajmahal. 'In the Dravidian group,' writes Mr. Brandreth, 'there is a rational and an irrational gender of the nouns, which is distinguished in the plural of the nouns, and sometimes in the singular also, by affixes which appear to be fragmentary pronouns, by corresponding pronouns, and by the agreement of the verb with the noun, the gender of the verb being expressed by the pronominal suffixes. To give an instance of verbal gender, we have in Tamil, from the root *sey*, "to do," *seyd-an*, "he (rational) did;" *seyd-il*, "she (rational) did;" *seyd-adu*, "it (irrational) did;" *seyd-ar*, "they (the rationals) did;" *seyd-a*, "they (the irrationals) did;" the full pronouns being *avan*, "he;" *aval*, "she;" *adu*, "it;" *avar*, "they;" *avei*, "they." This distinction of gender, though it exists in most of the Dravidian languages, is not always carried out to the extent that it is in Tamil. In Telugu, Gond, and Kandh, it is preserved in the plural, but in the singular the feminine rational is merged in the irrational gender. In Gond, the gender is further marked by the noun in the genitive relation taking a different suffix, according to the number and gender of the noun on which it depends. In Uraon, the feminine rational is entirely merged in the irrational gender, with the exception of the pronoun, which preserves the distinction between rationals and irrationals in the plural; thus "he," referring to a god or a man; *ad*, "she" or "it," referring to a woman or an irrational object; but *ar*, "they," applies to both women; *abra*, "they," to irrationals only. The rational gender of human beings, includes the celestial and infernal deities; and

The following is a list of 142 of the principal non-Aryan languages and dialects, prepared by Mr. Brandreth for the Royal Asiatic Society in 1877, and classified according to their grammatical structure. Mr. Robert Cust has also arranged them in another convenient form, according to their geographical habitat.

TABLE OF THE NON-ARYAN LANGUAGES OF INDIA.¹

| Dravidian Group. | Dravidian Group—continued. |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| Tamil. | <i>Yerukala.</i> |
| Malayálam. | <i>Gadaba</i> (Kolarian?). |
| Telugu. | |
| { Kanaicse. | KOLARIAN GROUP. |
| { Badaga. | Santáli. |
| Tulu. | { Mundári. |
| Kudugu or Coorg. | { Ho or Laika Kol. |
| Toda. | { Bhumi. |
| Kota. | Korwa. |
| Gond dialects. | Kharia. |
| { <i>Mahádeo.</i> | Juáng. |
| { <i>Ráj.</i> | { Kuri. |
| { <i>Maria.</i> | { Kurku. |
| Kandh or Ku. | Mehto. |
| Uiaon or Dhangar. | Savara. |
| Rájmahál or Máler. | |
| Miscellaneous Dialects. | TIBETO-BURMAN GROUP. |
| { <i>Naikude.</i> | I. { Káchári or Bodo. |
| { <i>Kolami.</i> | { Mech. |
| <i>Kakkudi.</i> | { Hojai. |

sub-divided, in some of the languages, but in the singular only, into masculine and feminine. The grammatical relations in the Dravidian are generally expressed by suffixes. Many nouns have an oblique form, which is a remarkable characteristic of the Dravidian group; still, with the majority of nouns, the post-positions are added directly to the nominative form. Other features of this group are—the frequent use of formatives to specialize the meaning of the root; the absence of relative pronouns and the use instead of a relative participle, which is usually formed from the ordinary participle by the same suffix as that which Dr. Caldwell considers as the oldest sign of the genitive relation; the adjective preceding the substantive; of two substantives, the determining preceding the determined; and the verb being the last member of the sentence. There is no true dual in the Dravidian languages. In the Dravidian languages there are two forms of the plural of the pronoun of the first person, one including, the other excluding, the person addressed. As regards the verbs, there is a negative voice, but no passive voice, and there is a causal form.' Bishop Caldwell's second edition of his great work, the *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* (Trübner, 1875), forms in itself an epoch in that department of human knowledge. Mr. Beames' *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India* (Trübner, 1872) has laid the foundation for the accurate study of North Indian speech. Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1872), and Sir George Campbell's *Specimens of the Languages of India* (Bengal Secretariat Press, 1874), have also shed new and valuable light on the questions involved.

¹ Brackets refer to dialects that are very closely related; † to languages beyond the circle of the Indian languages. (See list above and on next page.)

Tibeto-Burman Group—*continued*.

- Gáro.
Páni-Koch.
Deori-Chutia.
Tipura or Mrung.
II. { Tibetan or Bhutiá.
Sarpa.
Lhopa or Bhutáni.
Changlo.
Twang.
III. { Gurung.
Murmi.
Tháksya.
Newar.
Pahri.
Magar.
IV. Lepchá.
V. Daphlá.
Miri.
Abar.
Bhutiá of Lo.
VI. Aka.
VII. Mishmi dialects.
Chulikata.
Taying or *Digaru*.
Mijhu.
VIII. Dhimal.
IX. Kanáwari dialects.
Milchan.
Tibarskad.
Sumchu.
X. { Kiranti.
Limbu.
Sunwár.
Brámu.
Chepang.
Váyu.
Kusunda.
XI. Nágá dialects.
Namsang or *Jáipuria*.
Banpára or *Joboka*.
Mithan.
Tablung.
Mulung.
XII. Nágá dialects.
Khari.
Naugáon.
Tengsa.
Lhota.
XIII. Nágá dialects.
Angámi.
Rengma.
Arung.
Kutcha.
Liyang or Kareng.
Marám.
XIV. Milkir.
XV. { Singpho.
Jili.
XVI. Burmese.
XVII. Kuki dialects.
Khyeng.

Tibeto-Burman Group—*continued*.

- { *Thado*.
Lushai.
Hallami.
Manipui.
{ Maring.
Khoibu.
Kupui.
Tangkhul.
Luhupa.
Khungui.
Phadang.
Champhung.
Kupome.
Takaimi.
Andro and Sengmai.
Chairel.
Anal and Namfau.
XVIII. { Kumi.
Kami.
Mru.
Banjogi or Lungkhe.
Pankho.
Shendu or Poi.
Sak.
Kyau.
XIX. Karen dialects.
Sgau.
Bghai.
Red Karen.
Pwo.
Taru.
Mopgha.
Kay or *Gaikho*.
Taungthu.
†Lisaw.
†Gyarung.
†Takpa.
†Manyak.
†Thochu.
†Horpa.

KHASHI.
Khási.

TAI.

{ Siamese or Thai.
Lao.
Shan.
Ahom.
Khamti.
Aiton.
†Tai Mow or Chinese Shan.

MON-ANAM.
Mon.
†Kambojan.
†Anamese.
†Paloung.

We discern, therefore, long before the dawn of history, masses of men moving uneasily over India, and violently pushing in among still earlier tribes. They crossed the snows of the Himálayas, and plunged into the tropical forests in search of new homes. Of these ancient races, fragments now exist almost in exactly the same stage of human progress as they were described by Vedic poets more than 3000 years ago. Some are dying out, such as the Andaman islanders, among whom in 1869 only one family had as many as three children. Others are increasing like the Santáls, who have doubled themselves under British rule. But they all require special and anxious care in adapting our complex administration to their primitive condition and needs. Taken as a whole, and including certain half-Hinduized branches, they numbered 17,627,758 in 1872, then about equal to three-quarters of the population of England and Wales. But while the bolder or more isolated of the aboriginal races have thus kept themselves apart, by far the greater portion submitted in ancient times to the Aryan invaders, and now make up the mass of the Hindus.

The following table shows the distribution of the aboriginal tribes throughout British India in 1872. But many live in Native States, not included in this enumeration; and the Madras Census of 1872 did not distinguish aborigines from low-caste Hindus. Their total number throughout all India (British and Feudatory) probably exceeded 20 millions in 1872.

Aboriginal Tribes and Semi-Hinduized Aborigines in 1872.

(Madras Presidency and the Feudatory States not included.)

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|---|---|---|------------|
| Bengal, | . | . | . | . | 11,116,883 |
| Assam, | . | . | . | . | 1,490,888 |
| North-Western Provinces, | . | . | . | . | 377,674 |
| Oudh, | . | . | . | . | 90,490 |
| Punjab, | . | . | . | . | 959,720 |
| Central Provinces, | . | . | . | . | 1,669,835 |
| Berar, | . | . | . | . | 163,059 |
| Coorg, | . | . | . | . | 42,516 |
| British Burma, | . | . | . | . | 1,004,991 |
| Bombay, | . | . | . | . | 711,702 |
| | | | | | <hr/> |
| | | | | | 17,627,758 |

As already stated, the Census of 1881 adopted a classification which fails to clearly distinguish the aboriginal elements in the Indian population. In the North-Western Provinces, Oudh,

Recapitulation—the non-Aryan races.
Distribution of aborigines in India in 1872.
Aborigines in 1881.

Not
separately
returned.

and the Punjab, which returned an aggregate of nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of aboriginal or non-Aryan castes or tribes in 1872, no separate return of the aboriginal or non-Aryan element was made in 1881. It is merged by the enumerators in the returns of the Hindu low-castes. The same process has affected the returns of other Provinces. In Madras, for example, 27 castes formerly included in the list of aboriginal tribes, were transferred to the Hindu section of the population. In Bengal, the Census officers explain that the non-registration of the aboriginal element is in some cases due to 'radical differences in the system upon which the castes, and especially the sub-divisions of castes, were classified in 1872 and in 1881.' In the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, the special officer states that his system of classification 'is not compatible with the modern doctrine which divides the population of India into Aryan and aboriginal.'

No com-
mon data
for 1872
and 1881.

Hinduiz-
ing ten-
dencies.

Under these circumstances it would be misleading to attempt a comparison between the returns of the aboriginal or non-Aryan population in 1872 and in 1881. On the one hand, there can be no doubt that the aboriginal castes and tribes are, in many parts of the country, tending towards Hinduism; and that many of them, as they rise in the scale of civilisation, lose their identity in the Hindu community. On the other hand, it is evident that the decreased returns of the aboriginal tribes and castes in 1881 are not entirely, or indeed chiefly, due to this process. It would be erroneous, therefore, to infer that the balance of $12\frac{3}{4}$ millions between the $17\frac{1}{2}$ millions of aborigines returned for British India in 1872 and the $4\frac{3}{4}$ millions nominally returned in 1881, had become Hindus.

A Hinduizing process is going on both among the aboriginal low castes in Hindu Provinces, and among the aboriginal tribes who border on such Provinces. But the apparent disappearance of nearly 13 millions of aborigines between 1872 and 1881 is due, not so much to this Hinduizing process, as to differences in the system of classification and registration adopted by the Census officers. That the disappearance of the Indian aborigines is apparent and not real, can be proved. The birth-rate among some of the aboriginal races is unusually high; and, with exceptions, the aboriginal tribes and castes are numerically increasing, although they are partially merging their separate identity in the Hindu community.

In Bengal and Assam, the aboriginal races are divided into

nearly 60 distinct tribes.¹ In the North-Western Provinces, Their principal races in 1872. 16 tribes of aborigines were enumerated in the Census of 1872. In the Central Provinces they numbered 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions (1872); the ancient race of Gonds, who ruled the central table-land before the rise of the Maráthás, alone amounting to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions. In British Burma, the Karens, whose traditions have a singularly Jewish tinge, numbered 330,000 in 1872, and 518,294 in 1881.

In Oudh, the nationality of the aboriginal tribes has been buried beneath waves of Rájput and Muhammadan invaders. For example, the Bhars, formerly the monarchs of the centre and east of that Province, and the traditional fort-builders to whom all ruins are popularly assigned, were stamped out by Ibráhm Shárki of Jaunpur, in the 15th century. The Gaulis or ancient ruling race of the Central Provinces, the Ahams of Assam, and the Gonds, Chandels, and Bundelaś of Bundelkhand,² are other instances of crushed races. In centres of the Aryan civilisation, the aboriginal peoples have been pounded down in the mortar of Hinduism, into the low-castes and out-castes on which the social fabric of India rests. A few of them, however, still preserve their ethnical identity as wandering tribes of jugglers, basket-weavers, and fortune-tellers. Thus, the Náts, Bediyas, and other gipsy clans are recognised to this day as distinct from the surrounding Hindu population.

The aboriginal races on the plains have supplied the hereditary criminal classes, alike under the Hindus, the Muhammadans, and the British. Formerly organized robber communities, they have, under the stricter police of our days, sunk into petty pilferers. But their existence is still recognised by the Criminal Tribes Act, passed so lately as 1871, and still enforced within certain localities of Oudh and Northern India.

The non-Aryan hill races, who appear from Vedic times downwards as marauders, have at length ceased to be a disturbing element in India. But many of them figure as predatory clans in Muhammadan and early British history. They sallied forth from their mountains at the end of the autumn harvest, pillaged and burned the lowland villages, and retired to their fastnesses laden with the booty of the plains. The measures

¹ Among them may be noted the Santáls, 850,000 under direct British administration, total about a million in 1872; Kols, 300,000; Uráons or Dhangars, 200,000; and Mundas, 175,000—within British territory. In Assam—Cacharis, 200,000; Khásis, 95,000. These figures all refer to 1872.

² See for the origin of the Bundelas, Mr. J. Beames' *Races of the North-Western Provinces*, vol. i. p. 45, etc. (1869).

by which these wild races have been reclaimed, form some of the most honourable episodes of Anglo-Indian rule. Cleveland's Hill-Rangers in the last century, and the Bhils and Mhairs in more recent times, are well-known examples of how marauding races may be turned into peaceful cultivators and loyal soldiers. An equally salutary transformation has taken place in many a remote forest and hill tract of India. The firm order of British rule has rendered their old plundering life no longer a possible one, and at the same time has opened up to them new outlets for their energies. A similar vigilance is now being extended to the predatory tribes in the Native States. The reclamation of the wild Moghias of Central India, and their settlement into agricultural communities, has been effected by British officers within the past five years.

Character of the non-Aryan tribes. The hill and forest tribes differ in character from the tamer population of the plains. Their truthfulness, sturdy loyalty, and a certain joyous bravery, almost amounting to playfulness, appeal in a special manner to the English mind. There is scarcely a single administrator who has ruled over them for any length of time without finding his heart drawn to them, and leaving on record his belief in their capabilities for good. Lest the traditional tenderness of the Indian Civil Service to the people should weaken the testimony of such witnesses, it may be safe to quote only the words of soldiers with reference to the tribes with which each was specially acquainted.

The non-Aryan hill tribes as soldiers. 'They are faithful, truthful, and attached to their superiors,' writes General Briggs; 'ready at all times to lay down their lives for those they serve, and remarkable for their indomitable courage. These qualities have always been displayed in our service. The aborigines of the Karnatik were the sepoys of Clive and of Coote. A few companies of the same stock joined the former great captain from Bombay, and helped to fight the battle of Plassey in Bengal, which laid the foundation of our Indian Empire. They have since distinguished themselves in the corps of pioneers and engineers, not only in India, but in Ava, in Afghánistán, and in the celebrated defence of Jalálábád. An unjust prejudice against them grew up in the native armies of Madras and Bombay, produced by the feelings of contempt for them existing among the Hindu and Muhammadan troops. They have no prejudices themselves; are always ready to serve abroad and embark on board ship; and I believe no instance of mutiny has ever occurred among them.' Since General Briggs wrote these

sentences, the non-Aryan hill races have supplied some of the bravest and most valued of our Indian regiments, particularly the gallant little Gúrkhas.

Colonel Dixon's report, published by the Court of Directors, portrays the character of the Mhair tribes with admirable minuteness. He dilates on their 'fidelity, truth, and honesty,' their determined valour, their simple loyalty, and an extreme and almost touching devotion when put upon their honour. Strong as is the bond of kindred among the Mhairs, he vouches for their fidelity in guarding even their own relatives as prisoners when formally entrusted to their care. For centuries they had been known only as exterminators; but beneath the considerate handling of one Englishman, who honestly set about understanding them, they became peaceful subjects and well-disciplined soldiers.

Sir James Outram, when a very young man, did the same good work for the Bhíls of KHANDESH. He made their chiefs his hunting companions, formed the wilder spirits into a Bhíl battalion, and laid the basis for the reclamation of this formerly intractable race. (See also THE DANGS, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.)

Every military man who has had anything to do with the aboriginal races acknowledges, that once they admit a claim on their allegiance, nothing tempts them to a treacherous or disloyal act. 'The fidelity to their acknowledged chief,' wrote Captain Hunter, 'is very remarkable; and so strong is their attachment, that in no situation or condition, however desperate, can they be induced to betray him. If old and decrepit, they will convey him from place to place, to save him from his enemies.' Their obedience to recognised authority is absolute; and Colonel Tod relates how the wife of an absent chieftain procured for a British messenger safe-conduct and hospitality through the densest forests by giving him one of her husband's arrows as a token. The very officers who have had to act most sharply against them speak most strongly, and often not without a noble regret and self-reproach, in their favour. 'It was not war,' Major Vincent Jervis writes of the operations against the Santáls in 1855. 'They did not understand yielding; as long as their national drums beat, the whole party would stand, and allow themselves to be shot down. They were the most truthful set of men I ever met.'

We have seen that India may be divided into three regions—the Himálayas on the north, the great River Plains that stretch

Colonel
Dixon
on the
Mhairs.

Outram's
work
among the
Bhíls.

Fidelity of
the hill
races.

Ethnical
distribu-
tion of
Indian
races.

southward from their foot, and the Three-sided Table-land which slopes upwards again from the River Plains, and covers the whole southern half of India. Two of these regions, the Himálayas on the north, and the Three-sided Table-land in the south, still afford retreats to the non-Aryan tribes. The third region, or the great River Plains, became in very ancient times the theatre on which a nobler race worked out its civilisation.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ARYANS IN ANCIENT INDIA.

THIS nobler race belonged to the ARYAN or Indo-Germanic stock, from which the Bráhmaṇ, the Rájput, and the Englishman alike descend. Its earliest home, visible to history, was in Central Asia. From that common camping-ground, certain branches of the race started for the east, others for the west. One of the western offshoots founded the Persian kingdom ; another built Athens and Lacedæmon, and became the Hellenic nation ; a third went on to Italy, and reared the City on the Seven Hills, which grew into Imperial Rome. A distant colony of the same race excavated the silver-ores of pre-historic Spain ; and when we first catch a sight of ancient England, we see an Aryan settlement fishing in wattle canoes, and working the tin mines of Cornwall. Meanwhile, other branches of the Aryan stock had gone forth from the primitive home in Central Asia to the east. Powerful bands found their way through the passes of the Himálayas into the Punjab, and spread themselves, chiefly as Bráhmans and Rájputs, over India.

We know little regarding these Aryan tribes in their early camping-ground in Central Asia. From words preserved in the languages of their long-separated descendants in Europe and India, scholars infer that they roamed over the grassy steppes with their cattle, making long halts to rear crops of grain. They had tamed most of the domestic animals ; were acquainted with a hard metal, probably iron,¹ and silver ;² understood the arts of weaving and sewing ; wore clothes ; and ate cooked food. They lived the hardy life of the temperate zone, and the feeling of cold seems to be one of the earliest common remembrances of the eastern and the western branches of the race. Ages afterwards, when the Vedic singers in hot

¹ Sanskrit, *ayas*, iron or, in a more general sense, metal, including gold but not copper in Sanskrit ; Latin, *aes*, *aeris*, copper, bronze ; Gothic, *ais*, *eisam* ; old German, *er*, iron ; modern German, *eisen*.

² Sanskrit, *kharjura*, silver ; Latin, *argentum* ; Greek, ἀργυρος, ἀργύριον.

India prayed for long life, they still asked for 'a hundred winters.' To this day the November rice in the tropical delta of the Ganges is called the *haimāntik* (cf. Latin *hiems*) or crop of the 'snowy' season.

European
and Indian
languages
merely
varieties
of Aryan
speech.

The forefathers of the Greek and the Roman, of the Englishman and the Hindu, dwelt together in Asia, spoke the same tongue, worshipped the same gods. The languages of Europe and India, although at first sight they seem wide apart, are merely different growths from the original Aryan speech. This is especially true of the common words of family life. The names for *father*, *mother*, *brother*, *sister*, and *widow* (Sanskrit, *vidhavā*), are the same in most of the Aryan languages, whether spoken on the banks of the Ganges, of the Tiber, or of the Thames. Thus the word *daughter* (Sanskrit, *duhitri*), which occurs in nearly all of them, has been derived from the Sanskrit root *duh*, 'milk,' and preserves the memory of the time when the daughter was the little milkmaid in the primitive Aryan household.

Indo-
European
words.

The words preserved alike by the European and Indian branches of the Aryan race, as heirlooms of their common home in Western Central Asia, include most of the terms required by a pastoral people who had already settled down to the cultivation of the more easily reared crops. Their domesticated animals are represented by names derived from the same root, for cattle, sheep, wool, goats, swine, dogs, horses, ducks, geese; also mice; their agricultural life, by cognate words for corn (although the particular species of the cereal varied), flax or hemp, ploughing and grinding; their implements, by cognate terms for copper or iron, cart or waggon, boat, helm; their household economy and industries, by words from the same roots for sewing and weaving, house, garden, yard; also for a place of refuge, the division of the year into lunar months, and several of the numerals.

Common
origin of
European
and Indian
religions.

The ancient religions of Europe and India had a similar origin. They were to some extent made up of the sacred stories or myths which our common ancestors had learned while dwelling together in Central Asia. Certain of the Vedic gods were also the gods of Greece and Rome; and the Deity is still adored by names derived from the same old Aryan root (*div*, to shine, hence The Bright One, the Indian *Deva*, Latin *Deus*, or Divinity), by Brāhmans in Calcutta, by the Protestant clergy of England, and by Catholic priests in Peru.

The Indo-
Aryans on
the march,

The Vedic hymns exhibit the Indian branch of the Aryans on their march to the south-east, and in their new homes.

The earliest songs disclose the race still to the north of the Khaibar Pass, in Kábul; the latest ones bring them as far as the Ganges. Their victorious advance eastwards through the intermediate tract can be traced in the Vedic writings almost step by step. One of their famous settlements lay between the two sacred rivers, the Saraswati, supposed to be the modern Sarsuti near Thánesar in the Punjab, and the Drishadvati, or Ghaggar, a day's march from it. This fertile strip of land, not more than 60 miles long by 20 broad, was fondly remembered by the Indo-Aryans as their Holy Land (*Brahmavartha*), 'fashioned of God, and chosen by the Creator.' As their numbers increased, they pushed eastwards along the base of the Himálayas, into what they afterwards called the Land of the Sacred Singers (*Brahmarshi-dasha*). Their settlements included by degrees the five rivers of the Punjab, together with the upper course of the Jumna and perhaps of the Ganges. and in their new settlements.

Here the Vedic hymns were composed; and the steady supply of water led the Aryans to settle down from their old state of wandering pastoral tribes into communities of husbandmen. Their Vedic poets praised the rivers which enabled them to make this great change—perhaps the most important step in the progress of a race. 'May the Indus,' they sang, 'the far-famed giver of wealth, hear us; (fertilizing our) broad fields with water.' The Himálayas, through whose offshoots they had reached India, and at whose southern base they long dwelt, made a lasting impression on their memory. The Vedic singer praised 'Him whose greatness the snowy ranges, and the sea, and the aerial river declare.' In all its long wanderings through India, the Aryan race never forgot its northern home. There dwelt its gods and holy singers; and there eloquence descended from heaven among men; while beyond the mountain-wall lay the paradise of deities and heroes, where the kind and the brave for ever repose. Function of the Rivers. Recollections of their northern home.

The Rig-Veda forms the great literary memorial of the early Aryan settlements in the Punjab. The age of this venerable hymnal is unknown. The Hindus believe, without evidence, that it existed 'from before all time,' or at least from 3101 years B.C., nearly 5000 years ago. European scholars have inferred from astronomical dates that its composition was going on about 1400 B.C. But these dates are themselves given in writings of modern origin, and might have been calculated backwards. We know, however, that the Vedic religion had been at work long before the rise of Buddhism in the 6th century B.C. The antiquity of the Rig-Veda, although The Rig-Veda. Insufficient evidence for its supposed dates, 3101 B.C. (?) 1400 B.C. (?)

Neverthe-
less of
great anti-
quity.

not to be dogmatically expressed in figures, is abundantly established. The earlier hymns exhibit the Aryans on the north-western frontiers of India, just starting on their long journey. Before the embassy of the Greek Megasthenes, at the end of the 4th century B.C., they had spread at least to the verge of the Gangetic delta, 1500 miles distant. At the time of the *Periplus*, *circa* 70 A.D., the southernmost point of India was apparently a seat of their worship. A temple to the queen of the god Siva stood on Cape Comorin, before the end of the first Christian century; and the inferences of European scholarship point to the composition of at least some of the Vedic psalms at a period not later than twelve to sixteen centuries before the commencement of our era.

Inspira-
tion of the
Veda.

The Rig-
Veda ;
1017
hymns,
10,580
verses.

Caste not
known to
Rig-Veda,

nor
widow-
burning.

The Brāhmins declare that the Vedic hymns were directly inspired by God. Indeed, in our own times, the young Theistic Church of Bengal, which rejects Brāhmanical teaching, was split into two sects on the question of the divine authority of the Veda. The hymns seem to have been composed by certain families of Rishis or psalmists, some of whose names are preserved. The Rig-Veda is a very old collection of 1017 of these short lyrical poems, chiefly addressed to the gods, and containing 10,580 verses. They show us the Aryans on the banks of the Indus, divided into various tribes, sometimes at war with each other, sometimes united against the 'black-skinned' aborigines. Caste, in its later sense, is unknown. Each father of a family is the priest of his own household. The chieftain acts as father and priest to the tribe; but at the greater festivals he chooses some one specially learned in holy offerings to conduct the sacrifice in the name of the people. The chief, although hereditary, seems to have been partly elected; and his title of Vis-pati, 'Lord of the Settlers,' survives in the old Persian Vis-paiti, and as the Lithuanian Wiéz-patis in central Europe at this day. Women enjoyed a high position, and some of the most beautiful hymns were composed by ladies and queens. Marriage was held sacred. Husband and wife were both 'rulers of the house' (*dampati*); and drew near to the gods together in prayer. The burning of widows on the husbands' funeral pile was unknown; and the verses in the Veda which the Brāhmins afterwards distorted into a sanction for the practice, have the very opposite meaning. 'Rise, woman,' says the sacred text to the mourner; 'come to the world of life. Come to us. Thou hast fulfilled thy duties as a wife to thy husband.'

The Aryan tribes in the Veda are acquainted with most of

the metals. They have blacksmiths, coppersmiths, and goldsmiths among them, besides carpenters, barbers, and other artisans. They fight from chariots, and freely use the horse, although not yet the elephant, in war. They have settled down as husbandmen, till their fields with the plough, and live in villages or towns. But they also cling to their old wandering life, with their herds and 'cattle-pens.' Cattle, indeed, still form their chief wealth—the coin (Latin, *pecunia*) in which payments or fines are made; and one of their words for war literally means 'a desire for cows.' They have learned to build 'ships,' perhaps large river-boats; and have seen or heard something of the sea. Unlike the modern Hindus, the Aryans of the Veda ate beef; used a fermented liquor or beer, made from the *soma* plant; and offered the same strong meat and drink to their gods. Thus the stout Aryans spread eastwards through Northern India; pushed on from behind by later arrivals of their own stock; and driving before them, or reducing to bondage, the earlier 'black-skinned' races. They marched in whole communities from one river valley to another; each house-father a warrior, husbandman, and priest; with his wife, and his little ones, and cattle.

Aryan
civilisation
in the
Veda.

Spread of
the Aryans
eastwards.

These free-hearted tribes had a great trust in themselves and in their gods. Like other conquering races, they believed that both themselves and their deities were altogether superior to the people of the land and to their poor, rude objects of worship. Indeed, this noble self-confidence is a great aid to the success of a nation. Their divinities—*devas*, literally 'The Shining Ones,' from the Sanskrit root *div*, 'to shine'—were the great powers of nature. They adored the Father-heaven, *Dyaush-pitar* in Sanskrit, the *Dies-piter* or *Jupiter* of Rome, the *Zeus* of Greece, the Low German *Duus*, and, through the old French god-demon, *Dus-ius*, probably the *Deuce* of English slang; together with Mother-Earth; and the Encompassing Sky, *Varuna* in Sanskrit, *Uranus* in Latin, *Ouranos* in Greek. The *Sárameyas*, or two children of Indra's watchdog, the messengers of death, have been compared with the Greek *Hermeias*, the conductor of the dead. Such common ideas and names penetrate deeply into the mythology of the ancient world, although they have sometimes been exaggerated. Jupiter *Feretrius*, for whom the Romans invented conflicting derivations, may be really the *Vritra-han*, or destroyer of the old Aryan demon *Vritra*. On the coins of the Republic, Juno *Sospita* is represented with a skin and horns over her. General Cunningham suggests that her epithet represents the Sanskrit

The gods
of the
Veda.

Saspatni (*Sasi*), a name for the moon, so called from the marks on the moon being supposed to resemble a hare (*.asa*).

Influence
of the
rainy
season on
Aryan
mytho-
logy.

Indra, or the Aqueous Vapour that brought the precious rain on which plenty or famine depended each autumn, received the largest number of hymns. By degrees, as the settlers realized more and more keenly the importance of the periodical rains to their new life as husbandmen, he became the chief of the Vedic gods. 'The gods do not reach unto thee, O Indra, or men; thou overcomest all creatures in strength.' Agni, the God of Fire (Latin, *igni-s*), ranks next to Indra in the number of hymns in his honour as the friend of man, the guide of the people, the lord and giver of wealth.

Indra and
Agni.

Judging, indeed, from the preponderance of the invocations to Agni, and from the position which the corresponding deity holds in Iranian mythology, it would appear as if Agni and not Indra had been the chief god of the race, while the Indian and old Persian branches still dwelt together. Among the cold heights and on the uplands of Central Asia, to the north-west of the Himálayas, Heat was the great factor of fertility, the giver of human comfort, and the ripener of the crops. When the eastern offshoots of the Aryans descended upon the plains of India, they found, as they advanced southward, that heat was an element of productiveness which might be taken for granted, a constant factor in the husbandry of the Indus and Jumna valleys. Here it was upon moisture rather than on heat that their harvest depended. To the right of their line of march across the five rivers of the Punjab, a rather narrow tract stretched to the foot of the Himálayas, with an ample rainfall, now averaging 35 inches a year. But on the broad plains to their left, the water-supply was less abundant and more capricious. At the present day the tract immediately to the south of the Aryan route receives only 20 to 30 inches per annum, diminishing through successive belts of rainfall down to 10 inches.

Moisture
v. Heat.

As the Aryan immigrants spread south, therefore, it was no longer so necessary to pray for heat, and it became more necessary to pray for moisture. Agni, the heat-giving god, without being discredited, became less important, and receded in favour of Indra, the rain-bringing deity. In the settlements of the Punjab, Indra thus advanced to the first place among the Vedic divinities. He is the cloud compeller, dropping bountiful showers, filling the dried-up rivers from the Himálayas and bringing the rain-storms. His voice is the thunder; with his spear of lightning he smites open the black clouds, and rends the black bodies of the demons who have drunk up the

Agni gives
place to
Indra.

Indra,
the rain-
bringer.

wished-for rains. He makes the sun to shine forth again. 'I will sing of the victories of Indra, of the victories won by the God of the Spear,' chanted the Rig-Vedic psalmist. 'On the mountains he smote the demon of drought (Ahi); he poured out the waters and let the river flow from the mountains: like calves to cows, so do the waters hasten to the sea.' 'Thou hast broken open the rain-prisons¹ rich in cattle. The bonds of the streams hast thou burnt asunder.'²

As the Aryans pushed forward into the middle and lower valley of the Ganges, they found themselves in a region of copious rainfall brought by the unfailing monsoons. The rainstorms of Indra thus became less important. His waterspouts, although well worth praying for in the Punjab, evidently belonged to an inferior grade of divine energy than that which presided over the irresistible, majestically ordered advance of the periodical rains in Bengal. Indra, the Cloud-Compeller, shared in his turn the fate of Agni, the God of Heat, and gave way to three deities on a scale commensurate with the vaster forces of nature in the Lower Gangetic valley. We shall see how the abstract but potent conception of Divine energy embodied in the Bráhmānical Triad of the Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer took the place alike of Agni and of Indra, and of the other Vedic gods. But, meanwhile, Indra, the Giver of Rain, was the most important deity to the Aryan settlers in the Punjab. He stands forth in the Veda as the foremost Shining One.

The Maruts were the Vedic Storm Gods, 'who make the rocks to tremble, who tear in pieces the forest.' Ushas, 'the High-born Dawn' (Greek, *Eos*), 'shines upon us like a young wife, rousing every living being to go forth to his work.' The Aswins, or 'Fleet Outriders' of the Dawn, are the first rays of sunrise, 'Lords of Lustre.' The Solar Orb (*Súrjya*, *Savitri*), the Wind (*Váyu*), the Sunshine or Friendly Day (*Mitra*), the animating fermented juice of the Sacrificial Plant (*Soma*), and many other Shining Ones, are invoked in the Veda; in all, about thirty-three gods, 'who are eleven in heaven, eleven on earth, and eleven dwelling in glory in mid-air.'

The terrible blood-drinking deities of modern Hinduism are

¹ Literally, 'Thou hast broken the cave of Vritra,' the demon who imprisons the rain and causes drought, with whom Indra is constantly waging victorious war.

² The Rig-Vedic attributes of Indra are well summarized by Professor Max Duncker, *Ancient History of India*, pp. 47-49 (ed. 1881), following Roth and Benfey; and are detailed with completeness by Muir, 'Sanskrit Texts,' pp. 76-139, vol. v. (1872).

and this sky. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

‘He who gives life, he who gives strength; whose command all the Bright Gods revere; whose shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?’

‘He who, through his power, is the one king of the breathing and awakening world. He who governs all, man and beast. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?’

‘He through whom the sky is bright and the earth firm; he through whom the heaven was established, nay, the highest heaven; he who measured out the light and the air. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?’

‘He who by his might looked even over the water-clouds; he who alone is God above all gods. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?’¹

The yearning for rest in God, that desire for the wings of a dove, so as to fly away and be at rest, with which noble hearts have ached in all ages, breathes in several exquisite hymns of the Rig-Veda: ‘Where there is eternal light, in the world where the sun is placed,—in that immortal, imperishable world, place me, O Soma! Where life is free, in the third heaven of heavens, where the worlds are radiant,—there make me immortal! Where there is happiness and delight, where joy and pleasure reside, where our desires are attained,—there make me immortal.’²

Nor was the sense of sin, and the need of pardon, absent from the minds of these ancient psalmists. As a rule, an honourable understanding seems to have existed between the Vedic sacrificer and his bright god: the god being equitably pledged to the fulfilment of the sacrificer’s prayer in return for the offering, although the wisest might leave it to Indra himself to decide what was best to bestow. But even the cheerful worshippers of the Veda at times felt deeply the sinfulness of sin, and the fear of the sins of the father being visited upon the children. ‘What great sin is it, O Varuna,’ says a hymn of the Rig-Veda, ‘for which thou seekest to slay thy worshipper and friend?’ ‘Absolve us from the sins of our fathers and from those which we committed in our own persons.’ ‘It was not our own doing that led us astray, O Varuna, it was

‘The
Better
Land.’

The sense
of sin and
need of
forgiveness.

¹ Rig-Veda, x. 121; translated by Prof. Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.* p. 569; *Chips*, vol. i. p. 29 (ed. 1867).

² Rig-Veda, ix. 113. 7, Max Müller’s translation.

Players
for pardon.

necessity (or temptation); wine, anger, dice, or thoughtlessness. The stronger perverts the weaker. Even sleep bringeth sin.'¹ 'Through want of strength, thou strong and bright god,' says another hymn to Varuna, 'have I gone wrong: have mercy, almighty, have mercy. I go along trembling like a cloud driven before the wind: have mercy, almighty, have mercy. Through want of power (to do right) have I transgressed, O bright and mighty god: have mercy, almighty, have mercy. Whenever we men, O Varuna, commit an offence before the heavenly host, whenever we break the law through thoughtlessness, have mercy, almighty, have mercy.'²

Primitive
Aryan
burial.

The very ancient Aryans in Central Asia buried their dead, although cremation seems also to have been resorted to. In Iran the custom of burial eventually gave place to that of exposing the corpse on a mountain to the birds of heaven; a custom still practised in the Pársí Towers of Silence at Bombay and elsewhere. We have seen that Agni, god of heat, appears to have been the chief deity of the Aryan race in Iran; and fire was regarded by the ancient Persian as too sacred an element to be polluted by a human corpse. The Aryan settlers in India for a time retained the custom of burial. 'Let me not, O Varuna, go to the house of clay,' says one hymn of the Rig-Veda.³ 'O earth, be not too narrow for him,' says another hymn, 'cover him like the mother who folds her son in her garment.'⁴ But in time the Indo-Aryans substituted the fire for the grave; and the burning of the corpse became a distinctive feature of the race, as contrasted with the ruder and more primitive peoples whom they found in the Punjab.

Burning
of the
dead.

While the aboriginal tribes buried their dead under rude stone monuments, the Aryan—alike in India, in Greece, and in Italy—made use of the funeral-pyre as the most solemn method of disposing of the mortal part of man. As the Indo-Aryan derived his natural birth from his parents; and a partial regeneration, or second birth, from the performance of his religious duties; so the fire, by setting free the soul from the body, completed the third or heavenly birth. His friends

¹ Rig-Veda, vii. 86; translated in Muir's 'Sanskrit Texts,' vol. v. p. 66 (1872).

² Rig-Veda, vii. 89. Max Müller's beautiful translation is reproduced by Professor Duncker, *Ancient History of India*, p. 53 (1881). See also Muir's translation, 'Sanskrit Texts,' vol. v. p. 67 (1872).

³ Rig-Veda, vii. 89. 1. Muir's 'Sanskrit Texts,' vol. v. p. 67 (1872).

⁴ Rig-Veda, x. 18. Roth's rendering in Duncker, *Ancient History of India*, p. 63 (1881).

stood round the pyre as round a natal bed, and commanded his eye to go to the sun, his breath to the wind, his limbs to the earth, the water and plants whence they had been derived. But 'as for his unborn part, do thou, Lord (Agni), quicken it with thy heat; let thy flame and thy brightness quicken it; convey it to the world of the righteous.'

For the lonely journey of the soul after its separation from the body, the Aryans, both in Asia and Europe, provided faithful guides (the *Sárameyas* in Sanskrit, *Hermeias* in Greek). According to the Zend or old Aryan legend in Persia, Yama was a monarch in the old time, when sorrow and sickness were unknown. By degrees sin and disease crept into the world; the slow necessity of death hastened its step; and the old king retired, with a chosen band, from the polluted earth into a better country, where he still reigns. The Indian version of the story makes Yama to be the first man who passed through death into immortality. Having discovered the way to the other world, he leads men thither. He became the nekropompos, or guide of the Aryan dead. Meanwhile his two dogs (*Sárameyas*)—'black and spotted,' 'broad of nostril,' and 'with a hunger never to be satisfied'—wander as his messengers among men. 'Worship with an offering King Yama, the Assembler of Men, who departed to the mighty waters, who found out the road for many.'¹

Aryan
legend of
King
Yama, or
Death.

Several exquisite hymns bid farewell to the dead :—'Depart thou, depart thou by the ancient paths to the place whither our fathers have departed. Meet with the Ancient Ones; meet with the Lord of Death. Throwing off thine imperfections, go to thy home. Become united with a body; clothe thyself in a shining form.' 'Let him depart to those for whom flow the rivers of nectar. Let him depart to those who, through meditation, have obtained the victory; who, by fixing their thoughts on the unseen, have gone to heaven. Let him depart to the mighty in battle, to the heroes who have laid down their lives for others, to those who have bestowed their goods on the poor.' The doctrine of transmigration was unknown. The circle round the funeral-pile sang with a firm assurance that their friend went direct to a state of blessedness and reunion with the loved ones who had gone before. 'Do thou conduct

The Vedic
farewell to
the dead.

¹ Rig-Veda, x. 14. 1. See Dr. John Muir's 'Sanskrit Texts,' and his essay on 'Yama,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, part ii., 1865, whence many of the above quotations are derived. See also Max Müller's essay on the 'Funeral Rites of the Bráhmans,' on which the following paragraph is chiefly based.

Vedic
concep-
tions of
immor-
tality.

us to heaven,' says a hymn of the later Atharva-Veda; 'let us be with our wives and children.' 'In heaven, where our friends dwell in bliss,—having left behind the infirmities of the body, free from lameness, free from crookedness of limb,—there let us behold our parents and our children.' 'May the water-shedding spirits bear thee upwards, cooling thee with their swift motion through the air, and sprinkling thee with dew.' 'Bear him, carry him; let him, with all his faculties complete, go to the world of the righteous. Crossing the dark valley which spreadeth boundless around him, let the unborn soul ascend to heaven. Wash the feet of him who is stained with sin; let him go upwards with cleansed feet. Crossing the gloom, gazing with wonder in many directions, let the unborn soul go up to heaven.'

The
Aryans
advance
into the
Middle
Land

The hymns of the Rig-Veda were composed, as we have seen, by the Aryans in their colonies along the Indus, and on their march eastwards towards the Jumna and upper Ganges. The growing numbers of the settlers, and the arrival of fresh Aryan tribes from behind, still compelled them to advance. From 'The Land of the Sacred Singers,' in the Eastern Punjab (*Brahmarshi-desha*, ante, p. 77), Manu describes them as spreading through 'The Middle Land' (*Madhya-desha*). This comprised the river system of the Ganges as far east as Oudh and Allahábád, with the Himálayas as its northern, and the Vindhya ranges as its southern boundary.

The
Ganges.

The Ganges is only twice mentioned, and without special emphasis, in the Rig-Veda. The conquest of the Middle Land seems, therefore, not to have commenced till the close of the Rig-Vedic era. It must have been the work of many generations, and it will be referred to when we come to examine the historical significance of the two great Sanskrit epics. Between the time when the Aryans descended from Central Asia upon the plains of the Indus and the age when they passed the Ganges, they had conquered many of the aboriginal races, left others behind on their route, and had begun to wage inter-tribal wars among themselves, under rival Aryan heroes and rival Vedic priests. During this advance, the simple faith of the Rig-Vedic singers was first adorned with stately rites, and then extinguished beneath them. The race progressed from a loose confederacy of tribes into several well-knit nations, each bound together by the strong central force of kingly power, directed by a powerful priesthood, and organized on a firm basis of caste.

Slow
advance
into the
Middle
Land.

Whence arose this new constitution of the Aryan tribes into

nations, with castes, priests, and kings? We have seen that although in their earlier colonies on the Indus each father was priest in his family, yet the Chieftain, or Lord of the Settlers, called in some man specially learned in holy offerings to conduct the greater tribal sacrifices. Such men were highly honoured, and the famous quarrel which runs throughout the whole Veda sprang from the claims of two rival sages, Vasishtha and Viswámitra, to perform one of these ceremonies. The art of writing was unknown, and the hymns and sacrificial formulæ had to be handed down by word of mouth from father to son.

The Aryan tribes organized into kingdoms.

It thus came to pass that the families who knew these holy words by heart became the hereditary owners of the liturgies required at the most solemn offerings to the gods. Members of such households were chosen again and again to conduct the tribal sacrifices, to chant the battle-hymn, to implore the divine aid, or to pray away the divine wrath. Even the early Rig-Veda recognises the importance of these sacrifices. 'That king,' says a verse, 'before whom marches the priest, he alone dwells well established in his own house; to him the people bow down. The king who gives wealth to the priest, he will conquer; him the gods will protect.' The tribesmen first hoped, then believed, that a hymn or prayer which had once acted successfully, and been followed by victory, would again produce the same results. The hymns became a valuable family property for those who had composed or learned them. The Rig-Veda tells how the prayer of Vasishtha prevailed 'in the battle of the ten kings,' and how that of Viswámitra 'preserves the tribe of the Bhárats.' The potent prayer was termed *brahman* (from the root *brih* = *vrih*, to increase), and he who offered it, *bráhman*. Woe to him who despised either! 'Whosoever,' says the Rig-Veda, 'scoffs at the prayer which we have made, may hot plagues come upon him, may the sky burn up that hater of Bráhmans.'¹

Origin of priestly families.

Certain families thus came to have not only a hereditary claim to conduct the great sacrifices, but also the exclusive knowledge of the ancient hymns, or at any rate of the traditions which explained their symbolical meaning. They naturally tried to render the ceremonies solemn and imposing. By degrees a vast array of ministrants grew up around each of the greater sacrifices. There were first the officiating priests and

Growing numbers of priests.

¹ The following pages are largely indebted to Professor Weber's *History of Indian Literature* (Trübner, 1878),—a debt very gratefully acknowledged.

their assistants, who prepared the sacrificial ground, dressed the altar, slew the victims, and poured out the libations; second, the chanters of the Vedic hymns; third, the reciters of other parts of the service; fourth, the superior priests, who watched over the whole, and corrected mistakes.

The entire service was derived from the Veda, or 'inspired knowledge,' an old Aryan word which appears in the Latin *vid-ere*, 'to see or perceive;' in the Greek *feido* of Homer, and *oïda*, 'I know;' in the Old English, *I wit*; in the modern German and English, *wissen*, *wisdom*, etc. The Rig-Veda exhibits the hymns in their simplest form, arranged in ten 'circles,' according to the families of their composers, the Rishis. Some of the hymns are named after individual minstrels.

But as the sacrifices grew more elaborate, the hymns were also arranged in four collections (*sanhitās*) or service-books for the ministering priests. Thus, the second, or Sāma-Veda, was made up of extracts from the Rig-Vedic hymns used at the Soma sacrifice. Some of its verses stamp themselves, by their antiquated grammatical forms, as older than their rendering in the Rig-Veda itself. The third, or Yajur-Veda, consists not only of Rig-Vedic verses, but also of prose sentences, to be used at the sacrifices of the New and Full Moon; and at the Great Horse Sacrifice, when 609 animals of various kinds were offered, perhaps in substitution for the earlier Man Sacrifice, which is also mentioned in the Yajur-Veda. The Yajur-Veda is divided into two editions, the Black and the White Yajur; both belonging to a more modern period than either the Rig or the Sāma Vedas, and composed after the Aryans had spread far to the east of the Indus.

The fourth, or Atharva-Veda, was compiled from the least ancient hymns of the Rig-Veda in the tenth book; and from the still later songs of the Brāhmanas, after they had established their priestly power. It supplies the connecting link between the simple Aryan worship of the Shining Ones exhibited in the Rig-Veda, and the complex Brāhmanical system which followed. It was only allowed to rank as part of the Veda after a long struggle.

The four Vedas thus described, namely, the Rig-Veda, the Sāma, the Yajur, and the Atharva, formed an immense body of sacrificial poetry. But as the priests grew in number and power, they went on elaborating their ceremonies, until even the four Vedas became insufficient guides for them. They accordingly compiled prose treatises, called Brāhmanas, attached to each of the four Vedas, in order to more fully explain the

The four Vedas.

(1) The Rig-Veda.

(2) The Sāma-Veda.

(3) The Yajur-Veda;

its (a) Black and (b) White editions.

(4) The Atharva-Veda.

The four Vedas become insufficient.

The Brāhmanas compiled.

functions of the officiating priests. Thus the Bráhmāna of the Rig-Veda deals with the duties of the Reciter of the Hymns (*hotar*) ; the Bráhmāna of the Sáma-Veda, with those of the Singer at the Soma sacrifice (*udgátar*) ; the Bráhmāna of the Yajur-Veda, with those of the actual performer of the Sacrifice (*adhvaryu*) ; while the Bráhmāna of the Atharva-Veda is a medley of legends and speculations, having but little direct connection with the Veda whose name it bears. All the Bráhmanas, indeed, besides explaining the ritual, lay down religious precepts and dogmas. Like the four Vedas, they are held to be the very Word of God. The Vedas and the Bráhmanas form the Revealed Scriptures (*sruti*) of the Hindus ; the Vedas supplying their divinely-inspired psalms, and the Bráhmanas their divinely-inspired theology or body of doctrine.

Sruti, or
Revealed
Truth.

Even this ample literature did not suffice. The priests accordingly composed a number of new works, called Sūtras, which elaborated still further their system of sacrifice, and which asserted still more strongly their own claims as a separate and superior caste. They alleged that these Sūtras, although not directly revealed by God, were founded on the inspired Vedas and Bráhmanas, and that they had therefore a divine authority as sacred traditions (*smṛiti*). The Sūtras, literally, 'strings' of aphorisms, were composed in the form of short sentences, for the sake of brevity, and in order that their vast number might be the better remembered in an age when writing was little practised, or unknown. Some of them, such as the Kalpa-Sūtras, deal with the ritual and sacrifices ; others, like the 'Household' or Grihya-Sūtras, prescribe the ceremonies at birth, marriage, and death ; a still larger class of Sūtras treat of the doctrines, duties, and privileges of the priests. The Sūtras thus became the foundation of the whole legislation and philosophy of the Bráhmins in later times. They exhibit the Bráhmins no longer as the individual sacrificers of the Vedic period, but as a powerful hereditary caste, claiming supremacy alike over king and people.

The Sūtras
or Sacred
Traditions ;

Smṛiti ;
not
'revealed.'

their
subject-
matter.

The
Bráhman
caste fully
formed.

Meanwhile, other castes had been gradually formed. As the Aryans moved eastwards from the Indus, some of the warriors were more fortunate than others, or received larger shares of the conquered lands. Such families had not to till their fields with their own hands, but could leave that work to be done by the aboriginal races whom they subdued. In this way there grew up a class of warriors, freed from the labour of husbandry, who surrounded the chief or king, and were always ready for battle. It seems likely that these kinsmen

Growth
of the
warrior
caste
(Kshat-
triyas).

and companions of the king formed an important class among the early Aryan tribes in India, as they certainly did among the mediæval branches of the race in Europe, and still do at the petty courts of India. Their old Sanskrit names, *Kshatriya*, *Rājanya*, and *Rājansi*, mean 'connected with the royal power,' or 'of the royal line;' their usual modern name *Rājput* means 'of royal descent.' In process of time, when the Aryans settled down, not as mere fighting clans, but as powerful nations, in the Middle Land along the Jumna and Ganges, this warrior class grew in numbers and in power. The black races had been reduced to serfdom, or driven back towards the Himālayas and the Vindhya, on the north and on the south of the central tract. The incessant fighting, which had formed the common lot of the tribes on their actual migration eastwards from the Indus, now ceased.

The cultivating caste (Vaisyas).

A section of the people accordingly laid aside their arms, and, devoting themselves to agriculture or other peaceful pursuits, became the *Vaisyas*. The sultry heats of the Middle Land must have abated their old northern energy, and inclined them to repose. Those who, from family ties or from personal inclination, preferred a soldier's life, had to go beyond the frontier to find an enemy. Distant expeditions of this sort could be undertaken much less conveniently by the husbandman than in the ancient time, when his fields lay on the very border of the enemy's country, and had just been wrested from it. Such expeditions required and probably developed a military class; endowed with lands, and with serfs to till the soil during the master's absence at the wars. The old companions and kinsmen of the king formed a nucleus round which gathered the more daring spirits. They became in time a distinct military caste.

The four castes :
(1) Brāhmanas,
(2) Kshatriyas,
(3) Vaisyas,

The Aryans on the Ganges, in the 'Middle Land,' thus found themselves divided into three classes—first, the priests, or Brāhmanas; second, the warriors and king's companions, called in ancient times Kshatriyas, at the present day Rājputs; third, the husbandmen, or agricultural settlers, who retained the old name of Vaisyas, from the root *vis*, which in the Vedic period had included the whole 'people.' These three classes gradually became separate castes; intermarriage between them was forbidden, and each kept more and more strictly to its hereditary employment. But they were all recognised as belonging to 'Twice-born,' or Aryan race; they were all present at the great national sacrifices; and all worshipped the same Bright Gods.

(4) Sūdras. Beneath them was a fourth or servile class, called Sūdras, the

remnants of the vanquished aboriginal tribes whose lives had been spared. These were 'the slave-bands of black descent,' the Dásas of the Veda. They were distinguished from their 'Twice-born' Aryan conquerors as being only 'Once-born,' and by many contemptuous epithets. They were not allowed to be present at the great national sacrifices, or at the feasts which followed them. They could never rise out of their servile condition; and to them was assigned the severest toil in the fields, and all the hard and dirty work of the village community.

Of the four Indian castes, three had a tendency to increase. The Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, and Súdras increase. As the Aryan conquests spread, more aboriginal tribes were reduced to serfdom, as Súdras. The warriors, or Kshatriyas, would constantly receive additions from wealthy or enterprising members of the cultivating class. When an expedition or migration went forth to subdue new territory, the whole colonists would for a time lead a military life, and their sons would probably all regard themselves as Kshatriyas. In ancient times, entire tribes, and at the present day the mass of the population throughout large tracts, thus claim to be of the warrior or Rájput caste. Moreover, the kings and fighting-men of aboriginal races who, without being conquered by the Aryans, entered into alliance with them, would probably assume for themselves the warrior or Kshatriya rank. We see this process going on at the present day among many of the aboriginal peoples. The Bráhmans, in their turn, appear at first to have received into their body distinguished families of Kshatriya descent. In later times, too, we find that sections of aboriginal races were also 'manufactured' wholesale into Bráhmans. Unmistakeable cases of such 'manufactures' or ethnical syncretisms are recorded; and besides the upper-class agricultural Bráhmans, there are throughout India many local castes of Bráhmans who follow the humble callings of fishermen, blacksmiths, ploughmen, and potato-growers.¹

The Vaisya or cultivating caste did not tend, in this manner, to increase. No one felt ambitious to win his way into it, except perhaps the enslaved Súdras, to whom any change of condition was forbidden. The Vaisyas themselves tended in early times to rise into the more honourable warrior class; and at a later period, to be mingled with the labouring multitude of Súdras, or with the castes of mixed descent. In many Provinces they have now almost disappeared as a distinct caste. In ancient India, as at the present day, the three conspicuous castes were (1) the priests and (2) warriors of

¹ See Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. i. pp. 239-264 (1872).

Aryan birth, and (3) the serfs or Súdras, the remnants of earlier races. The Súdras had no rights; and, once conquered, ceased to struggle against their fate. But a long contest raged between the priests and warriors for the chief place in the Aryan commonwealth.

Struggle
between
priestly
and
warrior
castes.

Rising
pretension
of the
Bráhmans.

In order to understand this contest, we must go back to the time when the priests and warriors were simply fellow-tribesmen. The Bráhma caste seems to have grown out of the families of Rishis who composed the Vedic hymns, or who were chosen to conduct the great tribal sacrifices. In after-times, the whole Bráhma population of India pretended to trace their descent from the Seven Rishis, heads of the seven priestly families to whom the Vedic hymns were assigned. But the composers of the Vedic hymns were sometimes kings or distinguished warriors rather than priests; indeed, the Veda itself speaks of these royal Rishis (*Rájarshis*). When the Bráhmans put forward their claim to the highest rank, the warriors or Kshattriyas were slow to admit it; and when the Bráhmans went a step further, and declared that only members of their families could be priests, or gain admission into the priestly caste, the warriors seem to have disputed their pretensions. In later ages, the Bráhmans, having the exclusive keeping of the sacred writings, effaced from them, as far as possible, all traces of their struggle with the Kshattriyas. The Bráhmans taught that their caste had come forth from the mouth of God, divinely ordained to the priesthood from the beginning of time. Nevertheless, the Vedic and Sanskrit texts record a long contest, perhaps representing a difference in race or separate waves of Aryan migrations.

Viswá-
mitra and
Vasishtha

The quarrel between the two sages Viswámitra and Vasishtha, which, as has been mentioned, runs through the whole Veda, is typical of this struggle. Viswámitra stands as a representative of the royal-warrior rank, who claims to perform a great public sacrifice. The white-robed Vasishtha represents the Bráhmans or hereditary priesthood, and opposes the warrior's claim. In the end, Viswámitra established his title to conduct the sacrifice; but the Bráhmans explain this by saying that his virtues and austerities won admission for him into the priestly family of Bhṛigu. He thus became a Bráhma, and could lawfully fill the priestly office. Viswámitra serves as a typical link, not only between the priestly and the worldly castes, but also between the sacred and the profane sciences. He was the legendary founder of the art of war, and his equally legendary son Susruta is quoted as the earliest authority on

Indian medicine. These two sciences of war and medicine, together with music and architecture, form *upā-Vedas*, or supplementary sections of the divinely-inspired knowledge of the Bráhmans.

Another famous royal Rishi, Vítahavya, 'attained the con- Other cases of dation of Bráhma-
nhood, venerated by mankind,' by a word Kshat-
of the saintly Bhrigu. Parasu-Ráma, the Divine Champion of triyas at-
the Bráhmans, was of warrior descent by his mother's side. taining to
Manu, their legislator, sprang from the warrior caste; and his Bráhma-
father is expressly called 'the seed of all the Kshatriyas.' But hood.
when the Bráhmans had firmly established their supremacy, they became reluctant to allow the possibility of even princes finding an entrance into their sacred order. King Ganaka was more learned than all the Bráhmans at his court, and performed terrible penances to attain to Bráhma-
nhood. Yet the legends leave it doubtful whether he gained his desire. The still more holy, but probably later, Matanga, wore his body to skin and bone by a thousand years of austerities, and was held up from falling by the hand of the god Indra himself. Nevertheless, he could not attain to Bráhma-
nhood. Gautama Buddha, who in the 6th century before Christ overthrew the Bráhma-
n supremacy, and founded a new religion, was a prince of warrior descent; perhaps born in too late an age to be adopted into, and utilized by, the Bráhma-
n caste.

Among some of the Aryan tribes the priests apparently failed The to establish themselves as an exclusive order. Indeed, the four 'Middle
castes, and especially the Bráhma-
n caste, seem only to have Land,' the
obtained their full development amid the plenty of the Middle focus of
Land (*Madhya-dēsha*), watered by the Jumna and the Ganges. Bráhma-
nism.
The early Aryan settlements to the west of the Indus long re-
mained outside the caste system; the later Aryan offshoots to the
south and east of the Middle Land only partially carried that
system with them. But in the Middle Land itself, with Delhi as
its western capital, and the great cities of Ajodhya (Oudh) and
Benares on its eastern frontier, the Bráhmans grew by degrees
into a compact, learned, and supremely influential body, the
makers of Sanskrit literature. Their language, their religion,
and their laws, became in after times the standards aimed at
throughout all India. They naturally denounced all who did
not submit to their pretensions, and they stigmatized the other
Aryan settlements who had not accepted their caste system as
lapsed tribes or outcasts (*Vrishalas*). Among the lists of such
fallen races we read the name afterwards applied to the
Ionians or Greeks (*Yavanas*). The Bráhmans of the Middle
Aryan
tribes
beyond
the Bráh-
manical
pale.

Land had not only to enforce their supremacy over the powerful warriors of their own kingdoms; they had also to extend it among the outlying Aryan tribes who had never fully accepted their caste system. This must have been a slow work of ages, and it seems to have led to bitter feuds.

Bráhma-
discomfi-
tures.

There were moments of defeat, indeed, when Bráhma leaders acknowledged the superiority of the warrior caste. 'None is greater,' says the Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad, 'than the Kshattriya; therefore the Bráhma, under the Kshattriya, worships at the royal sacrifice (*rájasúya*).'¹ It seems likely that numbers of the Vaisyas or cultivators would take part with the Kshattriyas, and be admitted into their caste. That the contest was not a bloodless one is attested by many legends, especially that of Parasu-Ráma, or 'Ráma of the Axe.' This hero, who was divinely honoured as the sixth Incarnation of Vishnu, appeared on the scene after alternate massacres by Bráhmans and Kshattriyas had taken place. He fought on the Bráhma side, and covered India with the carcasses of the warrior caste. 'Thrice seven times,' says the Sanskrit epic, 'did he clear the earth of the Kshattriyas,' and so ended in favour of the Bráhmans the long struggle.

The Bráhma-
man su-
premacy
estab-
lished.

They
make a
wise use
of it.

It is vain to search into the exact historical value of such legends. They suffice to indicate an opposition among the early Aryan kingdoms to the claims of the Bráhmans, and the mingled measures of conciliation and force by which that opposition was overcome. The Bráhma caste, having established its power, made a wise use of it. From the ancient Vedic times its leaders recognised that if they were to exercise spiritual supremacy, they must renounce earthly pomp. In arrogating the priestly function, they gave up all claim to the royal office. They were divinely appointed to be the guides of nations and the counsellors of kings, but they could not be kings themselves. As the duty of the Súdra was to serve, of the Vaisya to till the ground and follow middle-class trades or crafts, so the business of the Kshattriya was with

¹ It is easy to exaggerate the significance of this passage, and dangerous to generalize from it. The author has to thank Prof. Cowell and the late Dr. John Muir for notes upon its precise application. Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.* p. 54 (1878), describes the *rájasúya* as 'the consecration of the king.' The author takes this opportunity of expressing his many obligations to Dr. John Muir, his first teacher in Sanskrit. Dr. Muir, after an honourable career in the Bengal Civil Service, devoted the second half of his life to the study of ancient Indian literature; and his five volumes of *Original Sanskrit Texts* form one of the most valuable and most permanent contributions to Oriental learning made in our time.

the public enemy, and that of the Bráhmans with the national gods.

While the Bráhman leaders thus organized the occupations of the commonwealth, they also laid down strict rules for their own caste. They felt that as their functions were mysterious and above the reach of other men, so also must be their lives. Each day brought its hourly routine of ceremonies, studies, and duties. Their whole life was mapped out into four clearly-defined stages of discipline. For their existence, in its full religious significance, commenced not at birth, but on being invested at the close of childhood with the sacred thread of the Twice-Born. Their youth and early manhood were to be spent in learning by heart from some Bráhman sage the inspired Scriptures, tending the sacred fire, and serving their preceptor. Having completed his long studies, the young Bráhman entered on the second stage of his life, as a householder. He married and commenced a course of family duties. When he had reared a family, and gained a practical knowledge of the world, he retired into the forest as a recluse, for the third period of his existence; feeding on roots or fruits, and practising his religious rites with increased devotion. The fourth stage was that of the ascetic or religious mendicant, wholly withdrawn from earthly affairs, and striving to attain a condition of mind which, heedless of the joys, or pains, or wants of the body, is intent only on its final absorption into the deity. The Bráhman, in this fourth stage of his life, ate nothing but what was given to him unasked, and abode not more than one day in any village, lest the vanities of the world should find entrance into his heart. Throughout his whole existence, he practised a strict temperance; drinking no wine, using a simple diet, curbing the desires, shut off from the tumults of war, and his thoughts fixed on study and contemplation. 'What is this world?' says a Bráhman sage. 'It is even as the bough of a tree, on which a bird rests for a night, and in the morning flies away.'

It may be objected that so severe a life of discipline could never be led by any large class of men. And no doubt there have been at all times worldly Bráhmans; indeed, the struggle for existence in modern times has compelled the great majority of the Bráhmans to betake themselves to secular pursuits. But the whole body of Sanskrit literature bears witness to the fact that this ideal life was constantly before their eyes, and that it served to the whole caste as a high standard in its two really essential features of self-culture and self-restraint.

Four stages of a Bráhman's life.

First stage: The Learner (*brahma-chári*).

(2) The Householder (*grihas-tha*).

(3) The Forest-Recluse (*vána-prastha*).

(4) The Ascetic (*sam-jási*).

Bráhman ideal of life.

Incidents in the history of Buddha, in the 6th century before Christ, show that numbers of Bráhmans at that time lived according to this rule of life. Three hundred years later, the Greek ambassador, Megasthenes, found the Bráhmans discoursing in their groves, chiefly on life and death. The Chinese travellers, down to the 10th century A.D., attest the survival of the Bráhmanical pattern of the religious life. The whole monastic system of India, and those vast religious revivals which have given birth to the modern sects of Hinduism, are based on the same withdrawal from worldly affairs. At this day, Bráhman colleges, called *śols*, are carried on without fees on the old model, at Nadiyá in Bengal, and elsewhere. The modern visitor to these retreats can testify to the stringent self-discipline, and to the devotion to learning for its own sake, often protracted till past middle-life, and sometimes by grey-haired students.

Bráhman
rule of
life.

Its hereditary
results on
the caste.

The
Bráhman
type.

The Bráhmans, therefore, were a body of men who, in an early stage of this world's history, bound themselves by a rule of life the essential precepts of which were self-culture and self-restraint. As they married within their own caste, begat children only during their prime, and were not liable to lose the finest of their youth in war, they transmitted their best qualities in an ever-increasing measure to their descendants. The Bráhmans of the present day are the result of nearly 3000 years of hereditary education and self-restraint; and they have evolved a type of mankind quite distinct from the surrounding population. Even the passing traveller in India marks them out, alike from the bronze-cheeked, large-limbed, leisure-loving Rájput or warrior caste of Aryan descent; and from the dark-skinned, flat-nosed, thick-lipped low-castes of non-Aryan origin, with their short bodies and bullet heads. The Bráhman stands apart from both; tall and slim, with finely modelled lips and nose, fair complexion, high forehead, and somewhat cocoa-nut shaped skull—the man of self-centred refinement. He is an example of a class becoming the ruling power in a country, not by force of arms, but by the vigour of hereditary culture and temperance. One race has swept across India after another, dynasties have risen and fallen, religions have spread themselves over the land and disappeared. But since the dawn of history, the Bráhman has calmly ruled; swaying the minds and receiving the homage of the people, and accepted by foreign nations as the highest type of Indian mankind.

The paramount position which the Bráhmans won, resulted, in no small measure, from the benefits which they bestowed.

For their own Aryan countrymen, they developed a noble language and literature. The Bráhmans were not only the priests and philosophers. They were also the lawgivers, the statesmen, the administrators, the men of science, and the poets of their race. Their influence on the aboriginal peoples, the hill and forest races of India, was not less important. To these rude remnants of the flint and bronze ages they brought in ancient times a knowledge of the metals and of the gods. Within the historical period, the Bráhmans have incorporated the mass of the backward races into the social and religious organization of Hinduism. A system of worship is a great comfort to a tropical people, hemmed in by the uncontrolled forces of nature, as it teaches them how to propitiate those mysterious powers, and so tends to liberate their minds from the terrors of the unseen.

The work done by the Bráhmans for India.

The reflective life of the Middle Land (*Madhya-desh*) led the Bráhmans to see that the old gods of the Veda were in reality not supreme beings, but poetic fictions. For when they came to think the matter out, they found that the sun, the aqueous vapour, the encompassing sky, the wind, and the dawn, could not each be separate and supreme creators, but must have all proceeded from one First Cause. They did not shock the religious sense of the less speculative castes by any public rejection of the Vedic deities. They accepted the old 'Shining Ones' of the Veda as beautiful manifestations of the divine power, and continued to decorously conduct the sacrifices in their honour. But among their own caste, the Bráhmans distinctly enunciated the unity of God. To the Veda, the Bráhmanas, and the Sútras, they added a vast body of theological literature, composed at intervals between 800 B.C. and 1000 A.D. The Upanishads, meaning, according to their great Bráhman expounder, 'The Science of God,' and His 'identity with the soul;' the Aranyakas, or 'Tracts for the Forest-Recluse;' and the much later Puránas, or 'Traditions from of Old,'—contain mystic and beautiful doctrines inculcating the unity of God and the immortality of the soul, mingled with less noble dogmas, popular tales, and superstitions. The mass of the people were left to believe in four castes, four Vedas, and many deities. But the higher thinkers among the Bráhmans recognised that in the beginning there was but one caste, one Veda, and one God.

Bráhman theology.

Its esoteric and exoteric sides.

The old 'Shining Ones' of the Vedic singers were, indeed, no longer suitable deities, either for the life which the Aryans led after they advanced into Southern Bengal, or for the country

Rise of the post-Vedic gods.

- in which they lived. The Vedic gods were the good 'friends' of the free-hearted warring tribes in Northern India, settled on the banks of fordable streams or of not overpowering rivers. In Central and South-Eastern Bengal, the Bráhmans required deities whose nature and attributes would satisfy profoundly reflective minds, and at the same time would be commensurate with the stupendous forces of nature amid which they dwelt. The storm-gods (*Maruts*) of the Veda might suffice to raise the dust-whirlwinds of the Punjab, but they were evidently deities on a smaller scale than those which wielded the irresistible cyclones of Bengal. The rivers, too, had ceased to be merely bountiful givers of wealth, as in the north. Their accumulated waters came down in floods, which buried cities and drowned provinces; wrenching away the villages on their banks, destroying and reproducing the land with an equal balance. The High-born Dawn, the Genial Sun, the Friendly Day, and the kindly but confused old groups of Vedic deities, accordingly gave place to the conception of one god in his three solemn manifestations as Brahmá the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Siva the Destroyer and Reproducer.
- The vast forces of nature, in Bengal.
- The Hindu Triad : Each of these highly elaborated gods had his prototype among the Vedic deities; and they remain to this hour the Brahmá ; three persons of the Hindu Triad. Brahmá, the Creator, was too abstract an idea to be a popular god; and in a journey through India, the traveller comes on only one great seat of his worship at the present day, on the margin of the sacred lake PUSHKARA, near Ajmere. A single day of Brahmá is 2160 millions of man's years. Vishnu, the Preserver, was a more useful and practical deity. In his ten incarnations, especially in his seventh and eighth, as Ráma and Krishna, under many names and in varied forms, he took the place of the bright Vedic gods. Siva, the third person of the Triad, embodied, as Destroyer and Reproducer, the profound Bráhmanical conception of death as a change of state and an entry into new life. He thus obtained, on the one hand, the special reverence of the mystic and philosophic sects among the Bráhmans; while, on the other, his terrible aspects associated him alike with the Rudra, or 'God of Roaring Tempests' of the Veda, and with the blood-loving deities of the non-Aryan tribes. Vishnu and Siva, in their diverse male and female shapes, now form, for practical purposes, the gods of the Hindu population.
- Bráhman philo-
sophy.
- The truth is, that the Aryans in India worshipped—first, as they feared; then, as they admired; and finally, as they reasoned. Their earliest Vedic gods were the stupendous phenomena of

the visible world; these deities became divine heroes in the epic legends; and they were spiritualized into abstractions by the philosophical schools. From the Vedic era downward—that is to say, during a period which cannot be estimated at less than 3000 years—the Bráhmans have slowly elaborated the forces and splendid manifestations of nature into a harmonious godhead, and constructed a system of belief and worship for the Indian people. They also pondered deeply on the mysteries of life. Whence arose this fabric of the visible world, and whence came we ourselves—we who with conscious minds look out upon it? It is to these questions that philosophy has, among all races, owed her birth; and the Bráhmans arranged their widely diverse answers to them in six great systems or *darsanas*, literally ‘mirrors of knowledge.’

The present sketch can only touch upon the vast body of speculation which thus grew up, at least 500 years before Christ. The universal insoluble problems of thought and being, of mind and matter, and of soul as apart from both, of the origin of evil, of the *summum bonum* of life, of necessity and freewill, and of the relations of the Creator to the creature, are in the six schools of Bráhmanical philosophy endlessly discussed.

The Sánkhya system of the sage Kapila explains the visible world by assuming the existence of a primordial matter from all eternity, out of which the universe has, by successive stages, evolved itself. The Yoga school of Patanjali assumes the existence of a primordial soul, anterior to the primeval matter, and holds that from the union of the two the spirit of life (*mahán-átma*) arose. The two Vedanta schools ascribe the visible world to a divine act of creation, and assume an omnipotent god as the cause of the existence, the continuance, and the dissolution of the universe. The Nyáya or logical school of Gautama enunciates the method of arriving at truth, and lays special stress on the sensations as the source of knowledge. It is usually classed together with the sixth school, the Vaiseshika, founded by the sage Kanáda, which teaches the existence of a transient world composed of eternal atoms. All the six schools had the same starting-point, *ex nihilo nihil fit*. Their sages, as a rule, struggled towards the same end, namely the liberation of the human soul from the necessity of existence and from the chain of future births, by its absorption into the Supreme Soul, or primordial Essence of the universe.¹

¹ Any attempt to fuse into a few lines the vast conflicting masses of Hindu philosophical doctrines must be unsatisfactory. Objections may be taken to compressing the sub-divisions and branching doctrines of each

Summary
of Bráhma-
man
religion.

The Bráhmans, therefore, treated philosophy as a branch of religion. Now the universal functions of religion are to lay down a rule of conduct for this life, and to supply some guide to the next. The Bráhman solutions to the problems of practical religion, were self-discipline, alms, sacrifice to and contemplation of the deity. But besides the practical questions of the spiritual life, religion has also intellectual problems, such as the compatibility of evil with the goodness of God, and the unequal distribution of happiness and misery in this life. Bráhman philosophy exhausted the possible solutions of these difficulties, and of most of the other great problems which have since perplexed Greek and Roman sage, mediæval schoolman, and modern man of science. The various hypotheses of Creation, Arrangement, and Development were each elaborated; and the views of physiologists at the present day are a return, with new lights, to the evolution theory of Kapila. His Sánkhyā system is held by Weber to be the oldest of the six Bráhman schools, and certainly dates from not later than 500 B.C. The works on Religion published in the native languages in India in 1877 numbered 1192, besides 56 on Mental and Moral Philosophy. In 1882, the totals had risen to 1545 on Religion, and 153 on Mental and Moral Philosophy.

Bráhma-
science.

The Bráhmans had also a circle of sciences of their own. The Science of Language, indeed, had been reduced in India to fundamental principles at a time when the grammarians of the West still treated it on the basis of accidental resemblances; and modern philology dates from the study of Sanskrit by European scholars. Pānini was the architect of Sanskrit grammar; but a long succession of grammarians must have laboured before he reared his enduring fabric. The date of Pānini has been assigned by his learned editor Böhtlingk to about 350 B.C. Weber, reasoning from a statement made (long afterwards) by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, suggests that it may have been later. The grammar of Pānini stands supreme among the grammars of the world, alike for its precision of statement, and for its thorough analysis of the roots of the language and of the formative principles of words. By employing an algebraic terminology it attains a sharp succinctness unrivalled in brevity, but at times enigmatical. It arranges, in logical harmony, the whole phenomena

Sanskrit
grammar.

Pānini.

school into a single sentence. But space forbids a more lengthy disquisition. The foregoing paragraphs endeavour to fairly condense the accounts which H. H. Wilson, Albrecht Weber, Professor Dowson, and the Rev. K. M. Banarjī give of the Six *Darsanas* or Schools.

which the Sanskrit language presents, and stands forth as one of the most splendid achievements of human invention and industry. So elaborate is the structure, that doubts have arisen whether its complex rules of formation and phonetic change, its polysyllabic derivatives, its ten conjugations with their multiform aorists and long array of tenses, could ever have been the spoken language of a people. This question will be discussed in the chapter on the modern vernaculars of India.

It is certain that a divergence had taken place before the time of Pānini (350 B.C.), and that the spoken language, or *Prākṛita-bhāṣā*, had already assumed simpler forms by the assimilation of consonants and the curtailment of terminals. The *Sanskṛita-bhāṣā*, literally, the 'perfected speech,' which Pānini stereotyped by his grammar, developed the old Aryan tendency to accumulations of consonants, with an undiminished, or perhaps an increased, array of inflections. In this highly elaborated Sanskrit the Brāhmins wrote. It became the literary language of India,—isolated from the spoken dialects, but prescribed as the vehicle for philosophy, science, and all poetry of serious aim or epic dignity. As the Aryan race mingled with the previous inhabitants of the land, the spoken Prakrits adopted words of non-Aryan origin and severed themselves from Sanskrit, which for at least 2000 years has been unintelligible to the common people of India. The old synthetic spoken dialects, or Prakrits, underwent the same decay as Latin did, into analytic vernaculars, and about the same time. The noble parent languages, alike in India and in Italy, died; but they gave birth to families of vernaculars which can never die.

An intermediate stage of the process can be traced in the Hindu drama, in which persons of good birth speak in Prakritized Sanskrit, and the low-castes in a *bhāṣā*, or patois, between the old Prakrit and the modern dialects. It is chiefly under the popularizing influences of British rule that the Indian vernaculars have become literary languages. Until the last century, Sanskrit, although as dead as Latin so far as the mass of the people were concerned, was the vehicle for all intellectual and artistic effort among the Hindus, their local ballads and the writings of religious reformers excepted. In addition, therefore, to other sources of influence, the Brāhmins were the interpreters of a national literature written in a language unknown to the people.

The priceless inheritance thus committed to their charge they handed down, to a great extent, by word of mouth. Partly

Sanskrit
and
Prākṛit
speech.

Sanskrit
manu-
scripts.

No very ancient Indian MSS. from this cause, but chiefly owing to the destructive climate of India, no Sanskrit manuscripts of remote antiquity exist. A fairly continuous series of inscriptions on rocks, pillars, and copper-plates, enable us to trace back the Indian alphabets to the 3rd century B.C. But the more ancient of existing Sanskrit manuscripts are only four hundred years old, very few have an age exceeding five centuries, and only two date as far back as 1132 and 1008 A.D.¹ The earliest Indian ms. (1008 A.D.) comes from the cold, dry highlands of Nepál.² In Kashmír, birch-bark was extensively used : a substitute for paper also employed in India before 500 A.D., and still surviving in the amulets with verses on them which hang round the neck of Hindus.³ Indeed, birch-bark is to this day used by some native merchants in the Simla Hills for their account books.

Palm-leaf MSS. of Japan. The palm-leaf was, however, the chief writing material in ancient and mediæval India. Two Sanskrit manuscripts on this substance have been preserved in the Monastery of Horiūzi in Japan since the year 609 A.D. It seems probable that these two strips of palm-leaf were previously the property of a Buddhist monk who migrated from India to China in 520 A.D.⁴ At any rate, they cannot date later than the first half of the 6th century; and they are the oldest Sanskrit manuscripts yet discovered. They were photographed in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1884.

The Indian Alphabets. With regard to the origin of the Indian alphabets, the evidence is still too undigested to safely permit of cursory statement. Of the two characters in which the Asoka inscriptions were written (250 A.D.), the northern variety, or Ariano-Páli, is now admitted to be of Phœnician, or at any rate of non-Indian,

¹ Footnote 198a to Weber's *Hist. Ind. Lit.* p. 182 (1878), quoting the report of Rájendrá Lálá Mitra (1874), and Dr. Rost's letter (1875). Mr. R. Cust, in a note for *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, assigns the year 883 A.D. as the date of the earliest existing Sanskrit ms. at Cambridge. But this remains doubtful. For very interesting information regarding the age of Indian MSS. see the official reports of the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in Bengal, Bombay, and Madras; particularly Dr. G. Bühler's (extra number of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. xxxiv.A, vol. xii. 1877), and Professor P. Peterson's (extra numbers of the same Journal, xli. 1883, and xlv. 1884).

² The present author has printed and sent to the India Office Library, for public reference, a catalogue of the 332 Sanskrit Buddhist MSS. collected by Mr. B. H. Hodgson in Nepál.

³ Dr. Bühler's *Tour in Search for Sanskrit MSS.*, *Journal Bombay Asiatic Society*, xxxiv.A, p. 29, and footnote. 1877.

⁴ *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Aryan Series, p. 64, vol. i. Part III. (1884.) See also Part I. of the volume, and pp. 3, 4 of Part III.

parentage. The southern variety, or Indo-Páli, is believed by some scholars to be of Western origin, while others hold it to be an independent Indian alphabet. An attempt has even been made to trace back its letters to an indigenous system of picture-writing, or hieroglyphs, in pre-historic India.¹ Quintus Curtius mentions that the Indians wrote on leaves in the time of Alexander (326 B.C.).² They do so to this hour. Few, if any, Indian manuscripts on paper belong to a period anterior to the 16th century A.D. The earliest Indian writings are on copper or stone; the mediæval ones generally on strips of palm-leaves. General Cunningham possesses a short inscription, written with ink in the inside of a lid made of soapstone, dating from the time of Asoka, or 256 B.C. The introduction of paper as a writing material may be studied in the interesting collection of Sanskrit manuscripts at the Deccan College, Poona.

Sanskrit literature was the more easily transmitted by word of mouth, from the circumstance that it was almost entirely written in verse. A prose style, simple and compact, had grown up during the early age following that of the Vedic hymns. But Sanskrit literature begins with the later, although still ancient, stage of Aryan development, which superseded the Vedic gods by the Bráhmical Triad of Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva. When Sanskrit appears definitively on the scene in the centuries preceding the birth of Christ, it adopted once and for all a rhythmic versification alike for poetry, philosophy, science, law, and religion, with the exception of the Beast Fables and the almost algebraic strings of aphorisms in the Sûtras. The Buddhist legends adhered more closely to the spoken dialects of ancient India, *prákríta-bhášá*; and they also have retained a prose style. But in classical Sanskrit literature, prose became an arrested development; the *sloka* or verse reigned supreme; and nothing can be clumsier than the attempts at prose in later Sanskrit romances and commentaries. Prose-

Sanskrit
writings
almost
entirely in
verse.

Prose, a
forgotten
art.

¹ By General Cunningham, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, pp. 52 *et seq.* The attempt cannot be pronounced successful. Dr. Burnell's *Palaography of Southern India* exhibits the successive developments of the Indian alphabet. For the growth of the Indian dialects, see Mr. Beames' *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*; Dr. Rudolph Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*; two excellent papers, by Mr. E. L. Brandreth, on the Gaudian Languages, in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, vols. xi. xii.; and Mr. R. N. Cust's *Linguistic and Oriental Essays*, pp. 144-171, Trübner, 1880. For a compendious view of the Indian alphabets, see Faulmann's *Buch der Schrift*, 119-158, Vienna, 1880.

² *Alexander in India*, lib. viii. cap. 9, v. 15.

writing was practically a lost art in India during eighteen hundred years.

Sanskrit
diction-
aries.

Sanskrit dictionaries are a more modern product than Sanskrit grammars. The oldest Indian lexicographer whose work survives, Amara-Sinha, ranked among the 'nine gems' at the court of Vikramāditya, one of several monarchs of the same name—assigned to various periods from 56 B.C. to 1050 A.D. The particular Vikramāditya under whom the 'nine gems' are said to have flourished, appears from evidence in Hiuen Tsiang's travels to have lived about 500 to 550 A.D. A well-known memorial verse makes Amara-Sinha a contemporary of Varāha-Mihira, the astronomer, 504 A.D. The other Sanskrit lexicons which have come down belong to the 11th, 12th, and subsequent centuries A.D. Those centuries, indeed, seem to mark an era of industry in Sanskrit dictionary-making; and there is little inherent evidence in Amara-Sinha's work (the Amara-kosha) to show that, in its present form, it was separated from them by any wide interval. The number of works on language published in 1877 in the Indian tongues, was 604; and in 1882, 738.

The
Amara-
kosha,
550 A.D. ?

Brāhman
astronomy.

Independ-
ent
period, to
500 B.C.

The astronomy of the Brāhman has formed alternately the subject of excessive admiration and of misplaced contempt. The truth is, that there are three periods of Sanskrit astronomy (*Jyoti-sāstra*). The first period belongs to Vedic times, and has left a moderate store of independent observations and inferences worked out by the Brāhman. The Vedic poets had arrived at a tolerably correct calculation of the solar year; which they divided into 360 days, with an intercalary month every five years. They were also acquainted with the phases of the moon; they divided her pathway through the heavens into 27 or 28 lunar mansions; and they had made observations of a few of the fixed stars. The order in which the lunar mansions are enumerated is one which must have been established 'somewhere between 1472 and 536 B.C.' (Weber). The planets were also an independent, although a later discovery, bordering on the Vedic period. At first seven, afterwards nine in number, they bear names of Indian origin; and the generic term for planet, *graha*, the seizer, had its source in primitive Sanskrit astrology. The planets are mentioned for the first time, perhaps, in the Taittirīya-Aryanaka. The Laws of Manu, however, are silent regarding them; but their worship is inculcated in the later code of Yājñavalkya. The zodiacal signs and the Jyotisha, or so-called Vedic Calendar,—with its solstitial points referring to 1181 B.C., or to a period still more remote,—seem to have

been constructed, or at any rate completed, in an age long subsequent to the Veda. The influence of the Chinese observers upon Indian astronomy, especially with regard to the lunar mansions, is an undecided but a pregnant question.

The second period of Bráhma astronomy dates from the Greek and Greco-Bactrian invasions of India, during the three centuries before Christ. The influence of Greece infused new life into the astronomy of the Hindus. The Indian astronomers of this period speak of the Yavanas, or Greeks, as their instructors; and one of their five systems is entitled the Romaka-Siddhánta.¹ Their chief writer in the 6th century, Varáha-Mihira, 504 A.D., gives the Greek names of the planets side by side with their Indian appellations; and one of his works bears a Greek title, Horá-Sástra (ὥρη). The Greek division of the heavens into zodiacal signs, decani, and degrees, enabled the Bráhmans to cultivate astronomy in a scientific spirit; and they elaborated a new system of their own. They rectified the succession of the Sanskrit lunar mansions which had ceased to be in accordance with the actual facts, transferring the two last of the old order to the first two places in the new.

In certain points the Bráhma astronomy advanced beyond Greek astronomy. Their fame spread throughout the West, and found entrance into the Chronicon Paschale (commenced about 330 A.D.; revised, under Heraclius, 610–641 A.D.). In the 8th and 9th centuries, the Arabs became their disciples, borrowed the lunar mansions in the revised order from the Hindus, and translated the Sanskrit astronomical treatises *Siddhántas* under the name of *Sindhends*. The Bráhma astronomer of the 6th century, Varáha-Mihira, was followed by a famous sage, Brahma-gupta, in the 7th (664 A.D.); and by a succession of distinguished workers, ending with Bháskara, in the 12th (1150 A.D.).

The Muhammadan conquest of India then put a stop to further independent progress. After the death of Bháskara, Indian astronomy gradually decayed, and owed any occasional impulse of vitality to Arabic science. Hindu observers of note arose at rare intervals. In the 18th century (1710–1735), Rájá Jai Singh II. constructed a set of observatories at his capital Jaipur, and at Delhi, Benares, Muttra, and Ujjain. His observations enabled him to correct the astronomical tables

Second period ;
Greek influences,
327 B.C. to
1000 A.D.

Best age of
Bráhma astronomy,

6th century
A.D.

Third period ;
decay under
Muhammadan rule—
1150–1800
A.D.
Jai Singh's
observa-
tories,
1728.

¹ That is, the Grecian Siddhánta. Another, the Paulisa-Siddhánta, is stated by Al Biruni to have been composed by Paulus al Yúnání, and is probably to be regarded, says Weber, as a translation of the *Εἰσαγωγή* of Paulus Alexandrinus. But see Weber's own footnote, No. 277, p. 253, *Hist. Ind. Lit.* (1878).

Rájá of
Jaipur's
observa-
tories,
1728.

of De la Hire, published in 1702, before the French accepted the Newtonian Astronomy. The Rájá left, as a monument of his skill, lists of stars collated by himself, known as the Tij Muhammad Sháhi, or Tables of Muhammad Sháh, the Emperor of Delhi, by whose command he undertook the reformation of the Indian Calendar. His observatory at Benares survives to this day; and elsewhere, his huge astronomical structures testify, by their ruins, to the ambitious character of his observations. Nevertheless, Hindu astronomy steadily declined. From Vedic times it had linked omens and portents with the study of the heavens. Under the Muhammadan dynasties it degenerated into a tool of trade in the hands of almanac-makers, genealogists, astrologers, and charlatans. It is doubtful how far even Rájá Jai Singh's observations were conducted by native astronomers. It is certain that the Catholic missionaries contributed greatly to his reputation; and that since the sixteenth century the astronomy of the Hindus, as of the Chinese, is deeply indebted to the science of the Jesuits.

Bráhma-
n mathe-
matics.

In algebra and arithmetic, the Bráhmans attained to a high degree of proficiency independent of Western aid. To them we owe the invention of the numerical symbols on the decimal system; the Indian figures 1 to 9 being abbreviated forms of the initial letters of the numerals themselves,¹ and the zero, or 0, representing the first letter of the Sanskrit word for empty (*śūnya*). The correspondence of the numeral figures with the initial letters of their Indian names, can be clearly traced in the Lúndi character, a cursive form of writing still used in the Punjab, especially among the hereditary trading castes. The Arabs borrowed these figures from the Hindus, called them the 'Indian cyphers,' and transmitted them to Europe. The Arabian mathematicians, indeed, frequently extol the learning of the Indians; and the Sanskrit term for the apex of a planet's orbit seems to have passed into the Latin translations of the Arabic astronomers.² The works on mathematics and mechanical science, published in the native languages in India in 1877, numbered 89; and, in 1882, 166.

Bráhma-
n medicine.

The medical science of the Bráhmans was also an independent development. The national astronomy and the national medicine of India alike derived their first impulses from the exigencies of the national worship. Observations of the

¹ Dr. Burnell, however, questioned this generally accepted view, and suggested that the old cave numerals of India are themselves of Greek origin.

² The Sanskrit *uccha* has become the *aux* (gen. *augis*) of the Latin translators (Reinaud, p. 525; Weber, p. 257).

heavenly bodies were required to fix the dates of the recurring festivals; anatomical knowledge took its origin in the dissection of the victim at the sacrifice, with a view to dedicating the different parts to the proper gods. The Hindus ranked their medical science as an *upa-veda*, or a supplementary revelation, under the title of Ayur-Veda, and ascribed it to the gods. But their earliest medical authorities belong to the Sūtra period, or later scholastic development, of the Yájur-Veda. The specific diseases whose names occur in Pánini's Grammar indicate that medical studies had made progress before his time (350 B.C.). The chapter on the human body in the earliest Sanskrit dictionary, the Amara-kosha (*circa* 550 A.D.), presupposes a systematic cultivation of the science. The works of the great Indian physicians, Charaka and Susruta, were translated into Arabic not later than the 8th century.

Its independent development, 4th century B.C. to 8th century A.D. :

Unlike the astronomical treatises of the Bráhmans, the Hindu medical works never refer to the Yavanas, or Greeks, as authorities; and, with one doubtful exception, they contain no names which point to a foreign origin. The chief seat of the science was at Benares, far to the east of Greek influence in India. Indeed, Indian pharmacy employed the weights and measures of Provinces still farther to the south-east, namely, Magadha and Kalinga. Arabic medicine was founded on the translations from the Sanskrit treatises, made by command of the Kaliphs of Bagdad, 750-960 A.D. European medicine, down to the 17th century, was based upon the Arabic; and the name of the Indian physician Charaka repeatedly occurs in the Latin translations of Avicenna (Ibn Sina), Rhazes (Al Rasi), and Serapion (Ibn Serabi).

The basis of Arabic and European medicine.

Indian medicine dealt with the whole area of the science. It described the structure of the body, its organs, ligaments, muscles, vessels, and tissues. The *materia medica* of the Hindus embraces a vast collection of drugs belonging to the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, many of which have been adopted by European physicians. Their pharmacy contained ingenious processes of preparation, with elaborate directions for the administration and classification of medicines. Much attention was devoted to hygiene, to the regimen of the body, and to diet.

Scope of Indian medicine.

The surgery of the ancient Indian physicians appears to have been bold and skilful. They conducted amputations, arresting the bleeding by pressure, a cup-shaped bandage, and boiling oil. They practised lithotomy; performed operations in the abdomen and uterus; cured hernia, fistula, piles; set broken

Indian surgery.

Nose-
making.

bones and dislocations; and were dexterous in the extraction of foreign substances from the body. A special branch of surgery was devoted to rhinoplasty, or operations for improving deformed ears and noses, and forming new ones; a useful operation in a country where mutilation formed part of the judicial system, and one which European surgeons have borrowed. It is practised with much success in the Residency Hospital at Indore, Holkar's capital; as jealous husbands in Native States still resort, in spite of more humane laws, to their ancient remedy against a suspected or unfaithful wife. This consists in throwing the woman violently down on the ground and slashing off her nose.

Operation
for neu-
algia.

The ancient Indian surgeons also mention a cure for neuralgia, analogous to the modern cutting of the fifth nerve above the eyebrow. They devoted great care to the making of surgical instruments, and to the training of students by means of operations performed on wax spread out on a board, or on the tissues and cells of the vegetable kingdom, and upon dead animals. They were expert in midwifery, not shrinking from the most critical operations; and in the diseases of women and children. Their practice of physic embraced the classification, causes, symptoms, and treatment of diseases,—diagnosis and prognosis. The maladies thus dealt with have been arranged into 10 classes, namely—those affecting (1) the humours; (2) the general system, including fevers; (3 to 9) the several organs and parts of the body; and (10) trivial complaints. Considerable advances were also made in veteri-

Veterinary
surgery.

nary science, and monographs exist on the diseases of horses and elephants.

Best age
of Indian
medicine,
250 B.C. to
750 A.D.

The best era of Indian medicine was contemporary with the ascendancy of Buddhism (250 B.C. to 750 A.D.), and did not long survive it. The science was studied in the chief centres of Buddhist civilisation, such as the great monastic university of Nalanda, near Gayá. The ancient Bráhmans may have derived the rudiments of anatomy from the dissection of the sacrifice; but the public hospitals which the Buddhist princes established in every city were probably the true schools of Indian medicine. A large number of cases were collected in them for continuous observation and treatment; and they supplied opportunities for the study of disease similar to those which the Greek physicians obtained at their hospital camps around the mineral springs. Hippocrates was a priest-physician, indeed the descendant of a line of priest-physicians, practising at such a spring; and Charaka was in many ways his Indian

Buddhist
public
hospitals.

counterpart. To the present day, works on Hindu medicine frequently commence their sections with the words, 'Charaka says.' This half-mythical authority, and Susruta, furnish the types of the ancient Indian physician, and probably belong, so far as they were real personages, to about the commencement of the Christian era. Both appear as Bráhmans; Susruta being, according to tradition, the son of the sage Viswámitra (p. 92); and Charaka, of another 'Veda-learned Muni.'

As Buddhism passed into modern Hinduism (750–1000 A.D.), and the shackles of caste were reimposed with an iron rigour, the Bráhmans more scrupulously avoided contact with blood or morbid matter. They withdrew from the medical profession, and left it entirely in the hands of the Vaidyas; a lower caste, sprung from a Bráhman father and a mother of the Vaisya or cultivating class. These in their turn shrank more and more from touching dead bodies, and from those ancient operations on 'the carcase of a bullock,' etc., by which alone surgical skill could be acquired. The abolition of the public hospitals, on the downfall of Buddhism, must also have proved a great loss to Indian medicine. The series of Muhammadan conquests, commencing about 1000 A.D., brought in a new school of foreign physicians, who derived their knowledge from the Arabic translations of the Sanskrit medical works of the best period. These Musalmán doctors or *hakims* monopolized the patronage of the Muhammadan princes and nobles of India. The decline of Hindu medicine went on until it has sunk into the hands of the village *kabiráj*, whose knowledge consists of jumbled fragments of the Sanskrit texts, and a by no means contemptible pharmacopœia; supplemented by spells, fasts, and quackery. While the dissection of the human body under Vesalius and Fabricius was giving birth to modern medicine in the 17th century, the best of the Hindu physicians were working upon the recollections of a long past age without any new lights.

Decline of
Hindu
medicine;

750 to
1850 A. D.

The
village
kabiráj.

On the establishment of medical colleges in India by the British Government, in the middle of the present century, the Muhammadan youth took advantage of them in disproportionately large numbers. But the Bráhmans and intellectual classes of the Hindus soon realized that those colleges were the doors to an honourable and a lucrative career. Having accepted the change, they strove with their characteristic industry and acuteness to place themselves at the head of it. In 1879, of the 1661 pupils in British medical schools throughout India, 950 were Hindus and 284 were

English
medical
colleges
in India.

Revival of medicine in India. Muhammadans, while the remaining 427 included Christians, Pársis, and all others. Of three Indian youths studying medicine at the University of Edinburgh during the same year, one belonged to the Káyasth or Hindu writer caste, another to the Vaidya or hereditary physician caste, and the third was a Bráhmaṇ. The number of medical works published in the native languages of India in 1877 amounted to 130; and in 1882 to 212, besides 87 on natural science, not including mathematics and mechanics.¹

Hindu art of war. The Bráhmaṇs regarded not only medicine, but also the arts of war, music, and architecture as *upa-vedas*, or supplementary parts of their divinely-inspired knowledge. Viśwámitra, the Vedic sage of royal warrior birth, who in the end attained to Bráhmaṇhood (p. 92), was the first teacher of the art of war (*dhanur-veda*). The Sanskrit epics prove that strategy had attained to the position of a recognised science before the birth of Christ, and the later Agni Purána devotes long sections to its systematic treatment.

Indian music. The Indian art of music (*gāndhārva-veda*) was destined to exercise a wider influence. A regular system of notation had been worked out before the age of Pánini (350 B.C.), and the seven notes were designated by their initial letters. This notation passed from the Bráhmaṇs through the Persians to Arabia, and was thence introduced into European music by Guido d'Arezzo at the beginning of the 11th century.² Some, indeed, suppose that our modern word *gamut* comes not from the Greek letter gamma, but from the Indian *gáma* (in Prákrit; in Sanskrit, *gráma*), literally 'a musical scale.'

Hindu music, after a period of excessive elaboration, sank under the Muhammadans into a state of arrested development. Of the 36 chief musicians in the time of Akbar, only 5 were Hindus. Not content with tones and semi-tones, the Indian

¹ For monographs on this interesting branch of Indian science, see the articles of Dr. E. Haas, 'Ueber die Ursprünge der Indischen Medizin, mit besonderem Bezug auf Susruta,' and 'Hippokrates und die Indische Medizin des Mittelalters,' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* for 1876, p. 617, and 1877, p. 647; the 'Indische Medicin, Karaka,' of Professor Roth in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* for 1872, p. 441; the *Review of the History of Medicine among the Asiatics*, by T. A. Wise, M.D., 2 vols., 1867; H. H. Wilson's little essay, *Works*, iii. 269 (ed. 1864); the excellent summary in Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, Trübner, 1878; and Dr. Watts' *Dict. Economic Products of India* (Calcutta, 1885).

² Von Bohlen, *Das Alte Indien*, ii. 195 (1830); Benfey's *Indien* (Ersch & Gruber's *Encyclopædie*, xvii., 1840); quoted by Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 272, footnote 315 (1878).

musicians employ a more minute sub-division, together with a number of sonal modifications, which the Western ear neither recognises nor enjoys. Thus they divide the octave into 22 sub-tones, instead of the 12 tones and semi-tones of the European scale. This is one of several fundamental differences, but it alone suffices to render Indian music barbaric to us; giving it the effect of a Scotch ballad in a minor key, sung intentionally a little out of tune.

Melodies which the Indian composer pronounces to be the perfection of harmony, and which have for ages touched the hearts and fired the imagination of Indian audiences, are condemned as discord by the European critic. The Hindu ear has been trained to recognise modifications of sound which the European ear refuses to take pleasure in. Our ears, on the other hand, have been taught to expect harmonic combinations for which Indian music substitutes different combinations of its own. The Indian musician declines altogether to be judged by the few simple Hindu airs which the English ear can appreciate. It is, indeed, impossible to adequately represent the Indian system by the European notation; and the full range of its effects can only be rendered by Indian instruments—a vast collection of sound-producers, slowly elaborated during 2000 years to suit the special requirements of Hindu music. The complicated structure of its musical modes (*rāgs*) rests upon three separate systems, one of which consists of five, another of six, and the other of seven notes. It preserves in a living state some of the early forms which puzzle the student of Greek music, side by side with the most complicated developments.

Patriotic Hindus have of late endeavoured to bring about a musical revival upon the old Sanskrit basis. Within the past fifteen years, Rájá Sir Surendra Mohan Tagore of Calcutta has published a series of interesting works on Indian music in the English tongue, adopting as far as possible the European notation. He has organized an orchestra to illustrate the art; and presented complete collections of Hindu instruments to the Conservatoire at Paris, and to other institutions in Europe. One of the earliest subjects which the new movement took as its theme, was the celebration of the Queen of England and her ancestors, in a Sanskrit volume entitled the *Victoria-Gítika* (Calcutta, 1875). No Englishman has yet brought an adequate acquaintance with the *technique* of Indian instrumentation to the study of Hindu music. The art still awaits investigation by some eminent

Its peculi-
arities.

Revival of
Hindu
music.

Western professor; and the contempt with which Europeans in India regard it, merely proves their ignorance of the system on which Hindu music is built up.

Indian
architec-
ture.

Indian architecture (*artha-sāstra*¹), although also ranked as an *upa-veda* or supplementary part of inspired learning, derived its development from Buddhist rather than from Brāhmanical impulses. A brick altar sufficed for the Vedic ritual. The Buddhists were the great stone-builders of India. Their monasteries and shrines exhibit the history of the art during twenty-two centuries, from the earliest cave structures and rock-temples, to the latest Jain erections, dazzling in stucco and overcrowded with ornament. It seems not improbable that the churches of Europe owe their steeples to the Buddhist topes. The Greco-Bactrian kingdom profoundly influenced architecture and sculpture in Northern India; the Musalmán conquerors brought in new forms and requirements of their own. Nevertheless, Hindu art powerfully asserted itself in the imperial works of the Mughals, and has left memorials which extort the admiration and astonishment of our age.

Greco-
Bactrian
and

Muham-
madan
influences.

The Hindu builders derived from the Muhammadans a lightness of structure which they did not formerly possess. The Hindu palace-architecture of Gwalior, the Indian-Muhammadan mosques and mausoleums of Agra and Delhi, with several of the older Hindu temples of Southern India, stand unrivalled for grace of outline and elaborate wealth of ornament. The Táj-Mahal at Agra justifies Heber's exclamation, that its builders had designed like Titans, and finished like jewellers. The open-carved marble windows and screens at Ahmadábád furnish examples of the skilful ornamentation which beautifies every Indian building, from the cave monasteries of the Buddhist period downward. They also show with what plasticity the Hindu architects adapted their Indian ornamentation to the structural requirements of the Muhammadan mosque.

Indian
decorative
art.

English decorative art in our day has borrowed largely from Indian forms and patterns. The exquisite scrolls on the rock-temples at Karli and Ajanta, the delicate marble tracery and flat wood-carving of Western India, the harmonious blending of forms and colours in the fabrics of Kashmír, have contributed to the restoration of taste in England. Indian art-work, when faithful to native designs, still obtains the highest honours at the international exhibitions of Europe. In pictorial art, the Hindus never

¹ Specifically, *nirmāna-silpam*, or *nirmāna-vidyá*.

made much progress, except in miniature-painting, for which Indian painting. perspective is not required. But some of the book-illustrations, executed in India under Persian impulses, are full of spirit and beauty. The Royal library at Windsor contains the finest existing examples in this by-path of art. The noble manuscript of the *Sháh Jahán Námah*, purchased in Oudh for £1200 in the last century, and now in possession of Her Majesty, will itself amply repay a visit. The specimens at the South Kensington Museum do not adequately represent Indian painting (1882). But they are almost everything that could be desired as regards Indian ornamental design, including Persian book-binding, and several of the minor arts.

While the Bráhmans claimed religion, theology, and philosophy as their special domain, and the chief sciences and arts as supplementary sections of their divinely-inspired knowledge, they secured their social supremacy by codes of law. Their earliest Dharma-sástras, or legal treatises, belong to the Grihyá-Sútra period, a scholastic outgrowth from the Veda. But their two great digests, upon which the fabric of Hindu jurisprudence has been built up, are of later date. The first of these, the code of Manu, is separated from the Vedic era by a series of Bráhmanical developments, of which we possess only a few of the intermediate links. It is a compilation of the customary law, current probably about the 5th century B.C., and exhibits the social organization which the Bráhmans, after their successful struggle for the supremacy, had established in the Middle Land of Bengal. The Bráhmans, indeed, claim for their laws a divine origin, and ascribe them to the first Manu or Aryan man, 30 millions of years ago. But as a matter of fact, the laws of Manu are the result of a series of attempts to codify the usages of some not very extensive centre of Bráhmanism in Northern India. They form a metrical digest of local customs, condensed by degrees from a legendary mass of 100,000 couplets (*slokas*) into 2685. They may possibly have been reduced to a written code with a view to securing the system of caste against the popular movement of Buddhism; and they seem designed to secure a rigid fixity for the privileges of the Bráhmans.

The date of the code of Manu has formed a favourite subject for speculation from the appearance of Sir William Jones' translation¹ downwards. The history of those speculations is typical of the modernizing process which scholarship

¹ Calcutta, 1794; followed by Hüttner's translation into German, 1797.

has applied to the old pretensions of Indian literature. The present writer has refrained from anything approaching to dogmatic assertion in regard to the dates assigned to Vedic and Sanskrit works; as such assertions would involve disquisitions quite beyond the scope of this volume.

Date of
Manu?

It may, therefore, be well to take the code of Manu as a single instance of the uncertainty which attaches to the date of one of the best known of Indian treatises. Sir William Jones accepted for it a fabulous antiquity of 1250 to 500 B.C. Schlegel was confident that it could not be later than 1000 B.C. Professor Monier Williams puts it at 500 B.C., and Johaentgen assigns 350 B.C. as the lowest possible date. Dr. Burnell, in his posthumous edition of the code,¹ discusses the question with admirable learning, and his conclusions must, for the present, be accepted as authoritative. As indicated in a recent paragraph, the code of Manu, or Mánava-Dharmasāstra, is not in its existing metrical form an original treatise, but a versified recension of an older prose code. In its earlier shape it belonged to the Sūtra period, probably extending from the sixth to the second century B.C. Dr. Burnell's investigations show that our present code of Manu was a popular work intended for princes or Rájás, and their officials, rather than a technical treatise for the Bráhmans. They also prove that the present code must have been compiled between 100 and 500 A.D.; and they indicate the latter date as the most probable one, viz. 500 A.D. 'It thus appears,' concludes Dr. Burnell, 'that the text belongs to an outgrowth of the Bráhmanical literature, which was intended for the benefit of the kings, when the Bráhmanical civilisation had begun to extend itself over the south of India.'²

Older
prose code
500-200
B.C. (?)

Present
metrical
code
100-500
A.D.

Probably
500 A.D.

Code of
Yájna-
valkya.

6th cen-
tury A.D.?

The second great code of the Hindus, called after Yájna-valkya, belongs to a period when Buddhism had established itself, and probably to a territory where it was beginning to succumb to the Bráhmanical reaction. It represents the Bráhmanical side of the great controversy (although a section of it deals with the organization of Buddhist monasteries), refers to the execution of deeds on metal plates, and altogether marks an advance in legal precision. It refers more especially to the customs and state of society in the kingdom of Mithila, now the Tirhút and Purniyá Districts, after the Aryans had securely settled themselves in the Gangetic Provinces to the

¹ *The Ordinances of Manu*, by the late Arthur Coke Burnell, Ph.D., C.I.E., of the Madras Civil Service. Trübner. 1884. Pp. xv.-xlvii.

² *Idem*, xxvii.

east and south-east of their old Middle Land of Bengal. The Mitákshará commentary of the law which bears the name of ^{Mitákshará.} Yājñavalkya is in force over almost all India except Lower Bengal Proper; and the Hindus, as a whole, allow to Yājñavalkya an authority only second to that of Manu. Yājñavalkya's code was compiled apparently not later than the 6th or 7th century A.D. It is right again to mention that much earlier periods have been assigned both to Manu and Yājñavalkya than those adopted here. Duncker still accepts the old date of 600 B.C. as that at which Manu's code 'must have been put together and written down.'¹

These codes deal with Hindu law in three branches, ^{Scope of Hindu law.} namely—(1) domestic and civil rights and duties; (2) the administration of justice; (3) purification and penance. They stereotyped the unwritten usages which regulated the family life and social organization of the old Aryan communities in the Middle Land of Bengal. They did not pretend to supply a body of law for all the numerous races of India, but only for Hindu communities of the Bráhmancial type. It is doubtful whether they correctly represented the actual customary law even among the Hindu communities in the Middle Land of the Ganges. For they were evidently designed to assert and maintain the special privileges of the Bráhmans. This they effected by a rigid demarcation of the employments of the people, each caste or division of a caste having its own hereditary occupation assigned to it; by stringent rules against the intermingling of the castes in marriage; by forbidding the higher castes, under severe penalties, to eat or drink or hold social intercourse with the lower; and by punishing the lower castes with cruel penances, for defiling by their touch the higher castes, or in any way infringing their privileges. ^{Its rigid caste system.}

They exhibit the Hindu community in the four ancient ^{Legal division of the people.} classes of priests, warriors, cultivators, and serfs (*súdras*). But they disclose that this old Aryan classification failed to represent the actual facts even among the Aryan communities in Northern India. They admit that the mass of the people did not belong to any one of the four castes, and they very inadequately ascribe it to concubinage or illicit connections. The ancient Bráhmancial communities in Northern India, as revealed by the codes, consisted—First, of an Aryan ^{The actual division of the people.} element divided into priests, warriors, and cultivators, all of whom bore the proud title of the Twice-Born, and wore the sacred thread. Second, the subjugated races, 'the once-born'

¹ *Ancient History of India*, by Professor Max Duncker, p. 195, ed. 1881.

Súdras. Third, a vast residue termed the Varna-sankara, literally the 'mingled colours;' a great but uncertain number of castes, exceeding 300, to whom was assigned a mixed descent from the four recognised classes. The first British Census of India, in 1872, proved that the same division remains the fundamental one of the Hindu community to this day.

Growth of
Hindu
law.

As the Bráhmans spread their influence eastwards and southwards from the Middle Land of Bengal, they carried their codes with them. The number of their sacred law-books (Dharma-sástras) amounted to at least fifty-six, and separate schools of Hindu law sprang up. Thus the Dáya-bhága version of the Law of Inheritance prevails in Bengal; while the Mitákshará commentary on Yájñavalkya is current in Madras and throughout Southern and Western India. But all modern recensions of Hindu law rest upon the two codes of Manu or of Yájñavalkya; and these codes, as we have seen, only recorded the usages of certain Bráhmanical centres in the north, and perhaps did not fairly record even them.

Based on
customary
law.

As the Bráhmans gradually moulded the population of India into Hinduism, such codes proved too narrow a basis for dealing with the rights, duties, and social organization of the people. Later Hindu legislators accordingly inculcated the recognition of the local usages or land-law of each part of the country, and of each class or tribe. While binding together, and preserving the historical unity of, the Aryan twice-born castes by systems of law founded on their ancient codes, they made provision for the customs and diverse stages of civilisation of the ruder peoples of India, over whom they established their ascendancy. By such provisions, alike in religion and in law, the Bráhmans incorporated the Indian races into that loosely coherent mass known as the Hindu population.

Plasticity
of Hindu-
ism.

It is to this plastic element that Hinduism owes its success; and it is an element which English administrators have sometimes overlooked. The races of British India exhibit many stages of domestic institutions, from the polyandry of the Nairs to the polygamy of the Kulin Bráhmans. The structure of their rural organization varies, from the nomadic husbandry of the hillmen, to the long chain of tenures which in Bengal descends from the landlord through a series of middle-men to the actual tiller of the soil. Every stage in industrial progress is represented; from the hunting tribes of the central plateau to the rigid trade-guilds of Gujarát. The Hindu legislators recognised that each of these diverse stages of social development had its own usages and unwritten law. Even

the code of Manu acknowledged custom as a source of law, and admitted its binding force when not opposed to express law. Vrihaspati says, 'The laws (*dharma*) practised by the various countries, castes, and tribes, they are to be preserved; otherwise the people are agitated.' Devala says, 'What gods there are in any country, . . . and whatsoever be the custom and law anywhere, they are not to be despised there; the law there is such.' Varāha-Mihira says, 'The custom of the country is first to be considered; what is the rule in each country, that is to be done.' A learned English judge in Southern India thus summed up the texts: 'By custom only can the Dharma-sāstra [Hindu law] be the rule of others than Brāhmins [only one-thirtieth of the population of Madras]; and even in the case of Brāhmins it is very often superseded by custom.'¹

The English, on assuming the government of India, wisely declared that they would administer justice according to the customs of the people. But our High Courts enforce the Brāhmanical codes with a comprehensiveness and precision unknown in ancient India. Thus in Bengal, the non-Hindu custom of *sagai*, by which deserted or divorced wives among the lower castes marry again, was lately tried according to 'the spirit of Hindu law;' while in Madras, judges have pointed out a serious divergence between the Hindu law as now administered, and the actual usages of the people. Those usages are unwritten and uncertain. The Hindu law is printed in many accessible forms;² and Hindu barristers are ever pressing its principles upon our courts. The Hindu law is apt to be applied to non-Hindu, or semi-Hindu, customs.

Efforts at comprehensive codification in British India are thus surrounded by special difficulties. For it would be improper to give the fixity of a code to all the unwritten half-fluid usages current among the 300 unhomogeneous castes of Hindus; while it might be fraught with future injustice to exclude any of them. Each age has the gift of adjusting

¹ Dr. Burnell's *Dāya-vibhāṅga*, Introd. p. xv. See also *Hindu Law as administered by the High Court of Judicature at Madras*, by J. Nelson, M.A., District Judge of Cuddapah, chaps. iii. and iv. (Madras, 1877); and *Journal Roy. As. Soc.*, pp. 208-236 (April 1881).

² For the latest treatment of Hindu law from the philosophical, scholarly, and practical points of view, see the third edition of West and Bühler's *Digest of the Hindu Law of Inheritance, Partition, and Adoption*. 2 vols. Bombay 1884. From the writings of Mayne, Burnell, and Nelson in Madras, and those of the Honourable Raymond West and Dr. Bühler in Bombay, a new and more just conception of the character of Hindu law and of its relations to Indian custom may be said to date.

Codes its institutions to its actual wants, especially among tribes
versus whose customs have not been reduced to written law. Many
survival of of those customs will, if left to themselves, die out. Others
fittest of them, which prove suited to the new social developments
customs. under British rule, will live. A code should stereotype the
 survival of the fittest; but the process of natural selection
 must be the work of time, and not an act of conscious
 legislation.

Restricted This has been recognised from time to time by the ablest
scope of of Anglo-Indian codifiers. They restrict the word code to
Indian the systematic arrangement of the rules relating to some
codifica- well-marked section of juristic rights, or to some executive
tion. department of the administration of justice. 'In its larger
 sense,' write the Indian Law Commissioners in 1879, 'of a
 general assemblage of all the laws of a community, no attempt
 has yet been made in this country to satisfy the conception of
 a code. The time for its realization has manifestly not arrived.'
 The number of works on Law, published in the native languages
 of India in 1877, was 165; and in 1882, 181, besides 157 in
 English; total, 338 works on law published in India in 1882.

Secular The Bráhmans were not merely the depositaries of the
literature sacred books, the philosophy, the science, and the laws of
of the the ancient Hindu commonwealth; they were also the creators
Hindus. and custodians of its secular literature. They had a practical
 monopoly of Vedic learning, and their policy was to trace
 back every branch of knowledge and of intellectual effort to
 the Veda. In this policy they were aided by the divergence
 which, as we have seen, arose at a very early date between the
 written and spoken languages of India. Sanskrit literature,
 apart from religion, philosophy, and law, consists mainly of two
 great epics, the drama, and a vast body of legendary, erotic,
 and mystical poetry.

Its chief The venerable epic of the Mahábhárata ranks first. The
branches. orthodox legend ascribes it to the sage Vyása, who, according
 to Bráhman chronology, compiled the inspired hymns into the
 four Vedas, nearly five thousand years ago (3101 B.C.). But
 one beauty of Sanskrit is that every word discloses its ancient
 origin in spite of mediæval fictions, and Vyása means simply
 the 'arranger,' from the verb 'to fit together.' No fewer than
 twenty-eight Vyásas, incarnations of Brahma and Vishnu,
 came down in successive astronomical eras to arrange and
 promulgate the Vedas on earth. Many of the legends in
 the Mahábhárata are of Vedic antiquity, and the main story

deals with a period assigned, in the absence of conclusive evidence, to about 1200 B.C. ; and certainly long anterior to the time of Buddha, 543 B.C. But its compilation into its present form seems to have taken place many centuries later.

Pāṇini (350 B.C.) makes no clear reference to it. The in- Its date ;
quisitive Greek ambassador and historian, Megasthenes, does not appear to have heard of it during his stay in India, 300 B.C. Dion Chrysostomos supplies the earliest external evidence of the existence of the Mahābhārata, *circa* 75 A.D. The arrangement of its vast mass of legends must probably have covered a long period. Indeed, the present poem bears traces of three separate eras of compilation ; during which its collection of primitive folk-tales grew from 8800 *slokas* Its
or couplets, into a cyclopædia of Indian mythology and growth.
legendary lore extending over eighteen books and 220,000 lines. The twenty-four books of Homer's *Iliad* comprise only 15,693 lines ; the twelve books of Virgil's *Æneid*, only 9868.

The central story of the Mahābhārata occupies scarcely Central
one-fourth of the whole, or about 50,000 lines. It narrates story of
a pre-historic struggle between two families of the Lunar the Mahā-
race for a patch of country near Delhi. These families, bhārata.
alike descended from the royal Bharata, consisted of two brotherhoods, cousins to each other, and both brought up under the same roof. The five Pāṇdavas were the miraculously born sons of King Pāṇdu, who, smitten by a curse, resigned the sovereignty to his brother Dhṛita-rāshtra, and retired to a hermitage in the Himālayas, where he died. The ruins of his capital, Hastināpura, or the 'Elephant City,' are pointed out beside a deserted bed of the Ganges, 57 miles north-east of Delhi, at this day. His brother Dhṛita-rāshtra ruled in his stead, and to him one hundred sons were born, who took the name of the Kauravas from an ancestor, Kuru. Dhṛita-rāshtra acted as a faithful guardian to his five nephews, the Pāṇdavas, and chose the eldest of them as heir to the family kingdom. His own sons resented this act of supersession ; and so arose the quarrel between the hundred Kauravas and the five Pāṇdavas which forms the main story of the Mahābhārata. The nucleus of the legend probably belongs to the period when the Aryan immigrants were settling in the upper part of the triangle 12th cen-
of territory between the Jumna and the Ganges, and before tury B.C.
they had made any considerable advances beyond the latter river. It is not unreasonable to assign this period to about the 12th century B.C.

The hundred Kauravas forced their father to send away their Its outline.

five Pándava cousins into the forest. The Kauravas then burned down the woodland hut in which the five Pándavas dwelt. The five escaped, however, and wandered in the disguise of Bráhmans to the court of King Draupada, who had proclaimed a *swayam-vara*, or maiden's-choice,—a tournament at which his daughter would take the victor as her husband. Arjuna, one of the Pándavas, bent the mighty bow which had defied the strength of all the rival chiefs, and so obtained the fair princess, Draupadī, who became the common wife of the five brethren. Their uncle, the good Dhrita-ráshtra, recalled them to his capital, and gave them one-half of the family territory towards the Jumna, reserving the other half for his own sons.

The Pándava brethren hived off to their new settlement, Indra-prastha, afterwards Delhi; clearing the jungle, and driving out the Nágas or forest-races. For a time peace reigned; but the Kauravas tempted Yudishthira, 'firm in fight,' the eldest of the Pándavas, to a gambling match, at which he lost his kingdom, his brothers, himself, and last of all, his wife. Their father, however, forced his sons to restore their wicked gains to their cousins. But Yudishthira was again seduced by the Kauravas to stake his kingdom at dice, again lost it, and had to retire with his wife and brethren into exile for twelve years. Their banishment ended, the five Pándavas returned at the head of an army to win back their kingdom. Many battles followed. Other Aryan tribes between the Jumna and the Ganges, together with their gods and divine heroes, joined in the struggle, until at last all the hundred Kauravas were slain, and of the friends and kindred of the Pándavas only the five brethren remained.

Their uncle, Dhrita-ráshtra, made over to them the whole kingdom; and for a long time the Pándavas ruled gloriously, celebrating the *aswa-medha*, or 'great horse sacrifice,' in token of their holding imperial sway. But their uncle, old and blind, ever taunted them with the slaughter of his hundred sons, until at last he crept away with his few surviving ministers, his aged wife, and his sister-in-law the mother of the Pándavas, to a hermitage, where the worn-out band perished in a forest fire. The five brethren, smitten by remorse, gave up their kingdom; and taking their wife, Draupadī, and a faithful dog, they departed to the Himálayas to seek the heaven of Indra on Mount Meru. One by one the sorrowful pilgrims died upon the road, until only the eldest brother, Yudishthira, and the dog reached the gate of heaven. Indra invited him to enter, but he refused if his lost wife and brethren were not also

Gambling matches.

Final overthrow of the 100 Kauravas.

Reign of the five Pándavas.

Their pilgrimage to heaven.

admitted. The prayer was granted, but he still declined unless his faithful dog might come in with him. This could not be allowed, and Yudishthira, after a glimpse of heaven, was thrust down to hell, where he found many of his old comrades in anguish. He resolved to share their sufferings rather than enjoy paradise alone. But having triumphed in this crowning trial, the whole scene was revealed to be *māyā* or illusion, and the reunited band entered into heaven, where they rest for ever with Indra.

Even this story, which forms merely the nucleus of the Mahābhārata, is the collective growth of far-distant ages. For example, the two last books, the 17th and 18th, which narrate 'the Great Journey' and 'the Ascent to Heaven,' are the product of a very different epoch of thought from the early ones, which portray the actual life of courts and camps in ancient India. The *swayam-vara* or husband-choosing of Draupadī is a genuine relic of the tournament age of Aryan chivalry. Her position as the common wife of the five brethren preserves a trace of even more primitive institutions—institutions still represented by the polyandry of the Nairs and Himālayan tribes, and by domestic customs which are survivals of polyandry among the Hinduized low-castes all over India. Thus, in the Punjab, among Jāt families too poor to bear the marriage expenses of all the males, the wife of the eldest son has sometimes to accept her brothers-in-law as joint husbands. The polyandry of the Ghakkars, the brave people of Rāwal Pindī District, was one of their characteristics which specially struck the advancing Muhammadans in 1008 A.D. The Kārákat Vellálars of Madura, at the opposite extremity of the peninsula, no longer practise polyandry; but they preserve a trace of it in their condonement of cohabitation with the husband's kindred, while adultery outside the husband's family entails expulsion from caste.

Such customs became abhorrent to the Brāhmins. The Brāhmins justify Draupadī's position, however, on the ground that as the five Pāndava brethren were divinely begotten emanations from one deity, they formed in reality only one person, and could be lawfully married to the same woman. No such afterthought was required to uphold the honour of Draupadī in the age when the legend took its rise. Throughout the whole Mahābhārata she figures as the type of a high-born princess, and a chaste, brave, and faithful wife. She shares in every sorrow and triumph of the five brethren; bears a son to each; and finally enters with the true-hearted band into the glory of Indra. Her husbands take a terrible vengeance on insult

Slow growth of the central story.

The polyandry of Draupadī.

offered to her, and seem quite unaware that a later age would deem her position one which required explanation.¹

The struggle for the kingdom of Hastinápura forms, however, only a fourth of the Mahábhárata. The remainder consists of later additions. Some of these are legends of the early Aryan settlements in the Middle Land of Bengal, tacked on to the central story; others are mythological episodes, theological discourses, and philosophic disquisitions, intended to teach the military caste its duties, especially its duty of reverence to the Bráhmans. Taken as a whole, the Mahábhárata may be said to form the cyclopædia of the Heroic Age in Northern India, with the struggle of the Pándavas and Kauravas as its original nucleus; and the submission of the military power to priestly domination as its later didactic design.

The second great Indian epic, the Rámáyana, recounts the advance of the Aryans into Southern India. Unlike the Mahábhárata, its composition is assigned not to a compiler (*vyása*) in the abstract, but to a named poet, Válmíki. On the other hand, the personages and episodes of the Rámáyana have an abstract or mythological character, which contrasts with the matter-of-fact stories of the Mahábhárata. The heroine of the Rámáyana, Sítá, is literally the 'field-furrow,' to whom the Vedic hymns and early Aryan ritual paid divine honour. She represents Aryan husbandry, and has to be defended against the raids of the aborigines by the hero Ráma, an incarnation of the Aryan deity Vishnu, and born of his divine nectar. Ráma is regarded by Weber as the analogue of Balaráma, the 'Ploughbearer' (*halabhrít*). From this abstract point of view, the Rámáyana exhibits the progress of Aryan plough-husbandry among the mountains and forests of Central and Southern India; and the perils of the agricultural settlers from the non-ploughing nomadic cultivators and hunting tribes.

The abduction of Sítá by an aboriginal or demon prince, who carried her off to Ceylon; her eventual recovery by Ráma; and the advance of the Aryans into Southern India, form the central story of the Rámáyana. It differs therefore from the central legend of the Mahábhárata, as commemorating a period when the main arena of Aryan enterprise had extended itself far

¹ The beautiful story of Sávitrí, the wife faithful to the end, is told in the Mahábhárata by the sage Márkandeya in answer to Yudishthira's question, whether any woman so true and noble as Draupadí had ever been known. Sávitrí, on the loss of her husband, dogged the steps of Yama, King of Death, until she wrung from him, one by one, many blessings for her family, and finally the reluctant restoration of her husband to life.

beyond their ancient settlements around Delhi ; and as a product of the Bráhmaṇ tendency to substitute abstract personifications for human actors and mundane events. The nucleus of the Mahábhárata is a legend of ancient life ; the nucleus of the Rámáyana is an allegory. Its most modern form, the Adhyátma Rámáyana, still further spiritualizes the story, and elevates Ráma into a saviour and deliverer, a god rather than a hero.¹

Its reputed author, Válmíki, is a conspicuous figure in the epic, as well as its composer. He takes part in the action of the poem, receives the hero Ráma in his hermitage, and afterwards gives shelter to the unjustly banished Sítá and her twin sons, nourishing the aspirations of the youths by tales of their father's prowess. These stories make up the main part of the Rámáyana, and refer to a period which has been loosely assigned to about 1000 B.C. But the poem could not have been put together in its present shape many centuries, if any, before our era. Parts of it may be earlier than the Mahábhárata, but the compilation as a whole apparently belongs to a later date. The Rámáyana consists of seven books (*Kāṇḍas*) and 24,000 *slokas*, or about 48,000 lines.

As the Mahábhárata celebrates the lunar race of Delhi, so the Rámáyana forms the epic chronicle of the solar race of Ajodhya or Oudh. The two poems thus preserve the legends of two renowned Aryan kingdoms at the two opposite, or eastern and western, borders of the Middle Land (*Madhyadesha*). The opening books of the Rámáyana recount the wondrous birth and boyhood of Ráma, eldest son of Dasaratha, King of Ajodhya ; his marriage with Sítá, as victor at her *swayam-vara*, or tournament, by bending the mighty bow of Siva in the public contest of chiefs for the princess ; and his appointment as heir-apparent to his father's kingdom. A *zanána* intrigue ends in the youngest wife of Dasaratha obtaining this appointment for her own son, Bharata, and in the exile of Ráma, with his bride Sítá, for fourteen years to the forest. The banished pair wander south to Prayág (Allahábád), already a place of sanctity ; and thence across the river to the hermitage of Válmíki, among the Bánda jungles, where a hill is still pointed out as the scene of their abode. Meanwhile Ráma's father dies, and the loyal youngest brother, Bharata, although the lawful successor, refuses to enter on the inherit-

later than
Mahá-
bhárita
Legend.

Outline of
the Rámá-
yana.

The local
legend.

¹ The allegorical character of the Rámáyana has allowed scope for various speculations as to its origin. Such speculations have been well dealt with by Mr. Káshináth Trimbak Telang in his Essay, *Was the Rámáyana copied from Homer?* (Bombay, 1873.)

ance, but goes in quest of Ráma to bring him back as rightful heir. A contest of fraternal affection takes place. Bharata at length returns to rule the family kingdom in the name of Ráma, until the latter shall come to claim it at the end of the fourteen years of banishment appointed by their late father.

The
abduction
of Sítá.

So far, the Rámáyana merely narrates the local chronicles of the court of Ajodhya. In the third book the main story begins. Rávana, the demon or aboriginal king of the far south, smitten by the fame of Sítá's beauty, seizes her at the hermitage while her husband is away in the jungle, and flies off with her in a magical chariot through the air to Lanka or Ceylon. The next three books (4th, 5th, and 6th) recount the expedition of the bereaved Ráma for her recovery. He makes alliances with the aboriginal tribes of Southern India, under the names of monkeys and bears, and raises a great army. The Monkey general, Hanumán, jumps across the straits between India and Ceylon, discovers the princess in captivity, and leaps back with the news to Ráma. The Monkey troops then build a causeway across the narrow sea,—the Adam's Bridge of modern geography,—by which Ráma marches across and, after slaying the monster Rávana, delivers Sítá. The rescued wife proves her unbroken chastity, during her stay in the palace of Rávana, by the ancient ordeal of fire. Agni, the god of that element, himself conducted her out of the burning pile to her husband; and, the fourteen years of banishment being over, Ráma and Sítá return in triumph to Ajodhya. There they reigned gloriously; and Ráma celebrated the great horse sacrifice (*aswa-medha*) as a token of his imperial sway over India. But a famine having smitten the land, doubts arose in Ráma's heart as to his wife's purity while in her captor's power at Ceylon. He banishes the faithful Sítá, who wanders forth again to Válmíki's hermitage, where she gives birth to Ráma's two sons. After sixteen years of exile, she is reconciled to her repentant husband, and Ráma and Sítá and their children are at last reunited.¹

Her
rescue.

Later San-
skrit epics.

The Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana, however overlaid with fable, form the chronicles of the kings of the Middle Land of the Ganges, their family feuds, and their national enterprises. In the later Sanskrit epics, the legendary element is more and more overpowered by the mythological. Among them the Raghu-vansa and the Kumára-sambhava, both assigned to Kálidása, take the first rank. The Raghu-vansa

Raghu-
vansa.

¹ Respectful mention should here be made of Growse's translation of the Hindi version of the *Rámáyana* by Tulsi Dás. (4to. Allahábád, 1883.)

celebrates the solar line of Raghu, King of Ajodhya ; more particularly the ancestry and the life of his descendant Rāma. The Kumāra-sambhava recounts the birth of the War-god.¹ Kumāra-sambhava. It is still more didactic and allegorical, abounding in sentiment and in feats of prosody. But it contains passages of exquisite beauty of style and elevation of thought. From the astrological data which these two poems furnish, Jacobi infers that they cannot have been composed before 350 A.D.

The name of Kālidāsa has come down, not only as the Kālidāsa. composer of these two later epics, but as the father of the Sanskrit drama. According to Hindu tradition, he was one of the 'Nine Gems' or distinguished men at the court of Vikramāditya. This prince is popularly identified with the King of Ujjain who gave his name to the *Samvat* era, commencing in the year 57 B.C. But, as Holtzmann points out, it may be almost as dangerous to infer from this latter circumstance that Vikramāditya lived in 57 B.C., as to place Julius Cæsar in the first year of the so-called Julian Calendar, namely, 4713 B.C. Several Vikramādityas figure in Indian history. Indeed, the name is merely a title, 'A very King Vikramāditya. Sun in Prowess,' which has been borne by victorious monarchs of many of the Indian dynasties. The date of Vikramāditya has been variously assigned from 57 B.C. to 1050 A.D.; and the works of the poets and philosophers who formed the 550 A.D. ? 'Nine Gems' of his court, appear from internal evidence to have been composed at intervals during that long period. The Vikramāditya, under whom Kālidāsa and the 'Nine Gems' are said to have flourished, ruled over Mālwa probably from 500 to 550 A.D.

In India, as in Greece and Rome, scenic representations seem to have taken their rise in the rude pantomime of a very early time, possibly as far back as the Vedic ritual ; and the Sanskrit word for the drama, *nātaka*, is derived from *nata*, a dancer. But the Sanskrit dramas of the classical age which have come down to us, probably belong to the period between the 1st century B.C. and the 8th century A.D. They make mention of Greek slaves, are acquainted with Buddhism in its full development, and disclose a wide divergence between Sanskrit and the dialects used by the lower classes. The Mahā-

Age of the
Sanskrit
drama.

¹ Translated into spirited English verse by Mr. Ralph T. H. Griffith, M.A., who is also the author of a charming collection of 'Idylls from the Sanskrit,' based on the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, Raghu-vansa, and Kālidāsa's Seasons.

bhārata and Rāmáyana appear in the Sanskrit drama as part of the popular literature,—in fact, as occupying very much the same position which they still hold. No dramas are known to exist among the works which the Hindus who emigrated to Java, about 500 A.D., carried with them to their new homes. Nor have any dramas been yet found among the Tibetan translations of the Sanskrit classics.

Sakuntalá. The most famous drama of Kálidása is *Sakuntalá*, or the ‘Lost Ring.’ Like the ancient epics, it divides its action between the court of the king and the hermitage in the forest. Prince Dushyanta, an ancestor of the noble Lunar race, weds by an irregular marriage a beautiful maiden, *Sakuntalá*, at her father’s hermitage in the jungle. Before returning to his capital, he gives his bride a ring as a pledge of his love; but smitten by a curse from a holy man, she loses the ring, and cannot be recognised by her husband till it is found. *Sakuntalá* bears a son in her loneliness, and sets out to claim recognition for herself and child at her husband’s court. But she is as one unknown to the prince, till, after many sorrows and trials, the ring comes to light. She is then happily reunited with her husband, and her son grows up to be the noble Bharata, the chief founder of the Lunar dynasty whose achievements form the theme of the *Mahábhārata*. *Sakuntalá*, like *Sítá*, is the type of the chaste and faithful Hindu wife; and her love and sorrow, after forming the favourite romance of the Indian people for perhaps eighteen hundred years, have furnished a theme for the great European poet of our age. ‘Wouldst thou,’ says Goethe,

‘Wouldst thou the young year’s blossoms, and the fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed,—
Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine?
I name thee, O *Sakuntalá*! and all at once is said.’

Other dramas; *Sakuntalá* has had the good fortune to be translated by Sir William Jones (1789), and to be sung by Goethe. But other of the Hindu dramas and domestic poems are of almost equal interest and beauty. As examples of the classical period, may be taken the *Mrichchakatí*, or ‘Toy Cart,’ a drama in ten acts, on the old theme of the innocent cleared and the guilty punished; and the poem of *Nala* and *Damayanti*, or the ‘Royal Gambler and the Faithful Wife.’ Such plays and poems frequently take an episode of the *Mahábhārata* or *Rāmáyana* for their subject; and in this way the main incidents in the two great epics have been gradually dramatized or reduced to the still more popular form of household song. The modern

Sanskrit,

drama was one of the first branches of Hindu secular literature and which accepted the spoken dialects; and the native theatre modern. forms the best, indeed the only, school in which an Englishman can acquaint himself with the in-door life of the people.

In our own day there has been a great dramatic revival Recent dramatic revival. in India: new plays in the vernacular tongues issue rapidly from the press; and societies of patriotic young natives form themselves into dramatic companies, especially in Calcutta and Bombay. Many of the pieces are vernacular renderings of stories from the Sanskrit epics and classical dramas. Several have a political significance, and deal with the phases of development upon which India has entered under the influence of British rule. One Bengali play, the *Nil-darpan*,¹ or the 'Indigo Factory,' became the subject of a celebrated trial in Calcutta; while others—such as *Ekei ki bale Sabhyatā?* 'Is this what you call civilisation?'—suggests many serious thoughts to a candid English mind. In 1877, 102 dramas were published in India in the native tongues; and in 1882, 245.

Closely allied to the drama is the prose romance. In 1823, The Hindu novel. Dr. H. H. Wilson intimated that Hindu literature contained collections of domestic narrative to an extent surpassing those of any other people. The vast growth of European fiction since that date renders this statement no longer accurate. But Wilson's translations from the *Vrihat-kathā* may still be read with interest,² and the Sanskrit Beast-stories now occupy an even more significant place in the history of Indo-European Beast-stories; literature than they did then. Many fables of animals familiar to the western world, from the time of *Æsop* downwards, had their original home in India. The relation between the fox and the lion in the Greek versions has no reality in nature. It was based, however, upon the actual relation between the lion and his follower the jackal, in the Sanskrit stories.³ Weber thinks that complete cycles of Indian fables may have existed in the time of Pānini (350 B.C.). It is known that the Sanskrit *Panchatantra*, or Book of Beast Tales, was translated into the ancient Persian as early as the 6th century A.D., and from that rendering all the subsequent versions in Asia Minor and Europe have spread west-wards. been derived. The most ancient animal fables of India are at

¹ Literally, 'The Mirror of Indigo.'

² *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, Calcutta, March 1824, pp. 63-77. Also vol. iii. of Wilson's Collected Works, pp. 156-268. London, 1864.

³ See, however, Weber's elaborate footnote, No. 221, for the other view, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 211. Max Müller's charming essay on the Migration of Fables (*Chips*, vol. iv. pp. 145-209, 1875) traces the actual stages of a well-known story from the East to the West.

the present day the nursery stories of England and America. The graceful Hindu imagination delighted also in fairy tales ; and the Sanskrit compositions of this class are the original source of many of the fairy tales of Persia, Arabia, and Christendom. The works of fiction published in the native languages in India in 1877 numbered 196 ; and in 1882, 237.

Sanskrit
lyric
poetry.

In mediæval India, a large body of poetry, half-religious, half-amorous, grew up around the legend of the youthful Krishna (the eighth incarnation of Vishnu) and his loves with the shepherdesses, the playmates of his sweet pastoral life. Kālidāsa, according to Hindu tradition, was the father of the erotic lyric, as well as a great dramatic and epic poet. In his *Megha-dūta* or 'Cloud Messenger,' an exile sends a message by a wind-borne cloud to his love, and the countries beneath its long aerial route are made to pass like a panorama before the reader's eye. The *Gīta Govinda*, or Divine Herdsman of Jayadeva, is a Sanskrit 'Song of Solomon' of the 12th century A.D. A festival once a year celebrates the birthplace of this mystical love-poet, in the Birbhūm District of Lower Bengal ; and many less famous compositions of the same class now issue from the vernacular press throughout India. In 1877, no fewer than 697 works of poetry were published in the native languages in India ; and in 1882, 834.

The
Purānas,
8th to 16th
century
A.D.

Contents
of the
Purānas.

Their
sects.

The mediæval Brāhmins displayed a marvellous activity in theological as well as in lyric poetry. The Purānas, literally 'The Ancient Writings,' form a collection of religious and philosophical treatises in verse, of which the principal ones number eighteen. The whole Purānas are said to contain 1,600,000 lines. The really old ones have either been lost or been incorporated in new compilations ; and the composition of the existing Purānas probably took place from the 8th to the 16th century A.D. As the epics sang the wars of the Aryan heroes, so the Purānas recount the deeds of the Brāhman gods. They deal with the creation of the universe ; its successive dissolutions and reconstructions ; the stories of the deities and their incarnations ; the reigns of the divine Manus ; and the chronicles of the Solar and Lunar lines of kings who ruled, the former in the east and the latter in the west of the Middle Land (*Madhya-desha*).

The Purānas belong to the period after the mass of the people had split up into their two existing divisions, as worshippers of Vishnu or of Siva, *post*, 700 A.D. They are

devoted to the glorification of one or other of these two rival gods, and thus embody the sectarian theology of Bráhma-
 nism. While claiming to be founded on Vedic inspira-
 tion, they practically superseded the Veda, and have formed ^{Their influence.}
 during ten centuries the sacred literature on which Hinduism
 rests.¹

An idea of the literary activity of the Indian mind at the
 present day may be formed from the fact, that 4890 works were
 published in India in 1877, of which 4346 were in the native ^{Indian}
 languages. Only 436 were translations, the remaining 4454 ^{works}
 being original works or new editions. The number of Indian ^{published}
 publications constantly increases. In 1882, 6198 works were ^{in 1877}
 published in India, 5543 being in the native languages. and 1882.
 The translations numbered 720, and the original works, in-
 cluding new editions, 5478. These figures only show the
 publications officially registered under the Act. A large
 number of unregistered pamphlets or brochures must be added ;
 together with the daily and weekly issue of vernacular news-
 papers, exceeding 230 in number and circulating over 150,000
 copies.

This chapter has attempted to trace the intellectual and
 religious development of the early Aryans in India, and their ^{Absence of}
 constitution into castes and communities. Regarding their ^{territorial}
 territorial history, it has said almost nothing. It has, indeed, ^{history.}
 indicated their primeval line of march from their Holy Land
 among the seven rivers of the Punjab, to their Land of the
 Sacred Singers between the upper courses of the Jumna and
 the Ganges ; and thence to their more extensive settlements in
 the Middle Land of Bengal (*Madhya-desha*) stretching to beyond
 the junction of these two great rivers. It has also told very
 briefly the legend of their advance into Southern India, in the
 epic rendering of the Rámáyana. But the foregoing pages
 have refrained from attempts to fix the dates or to fill in the

¹ The foregoing pages have very briefly reviewed the most important
 branches of Sanskrit literature ; the influence of that literature upon
 Hinduism will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter. To fully appreciate
 the connection between ancient thought and present practice in India, the
 student may also refer to Professor Monier Williams' *Modern India and the*
Indians (Trübner, 1879). That work unites the keen observation of a
 traveller new to the country with the previous learning acquired during a
 lifetime devoted to Oriental studies. Professor Monier Williams is thus
 enabled to correlate the existing phenomena of Indian life with the historical
 types which underlie them.

details of these movements. For the territorial extension of the Aryans in India is still a battle-ground of inductive history.

Its inductive data.

Even for a much later period of Indian civilisation, the data continue under keen dispute. This will be amply apparent in the following chapters.¹ These chapters will open with the great upheaval of Buddhism against Bráhmaism in the 6th century before Christ. They will summarize the struggles of the Asiatic races in India during a period of twenty-three hundred years. They will close with the great military revival of Hinduism under the Maráthá Bráhmans in the 18th century of our era. An attempt will then be made, from the evidence of the vernacular literature and languages, to present a view of Indian thought and culture, when the European nations came in force upon the scene.

The Bráhmans in Indian history.

Meanwhile, the history of India, so far as obscurely known to us before the advent of the Greeks, 327 B.C., is essentially a literary history, and the memorials of its civilisations are mainly literary or religious memorials. The more practical aspects of those long ages, which were their real aspects to the people, found no annalist. From the commencement of the post-Vedic period, the Bráhmans strove with increasing success to bring the Aryan life and civilisation of India more and more into accord with their own priestly ideas.

The six attacks on Bráhmaism, 6th century B.C. to 19th century A.D.

In order to understand the long domination of the Bráhmans, and the influence which they still wield, it is necessary also to keep in mind their position as the great literary caste. Their priestly supremacy has been repeatedly assailed, and was during a space of nearly a thousand years overpowered by Buddhism. But throughout twenty-two centuries the Bráhmans have been the counsellors of Hindu princes and the teachers of the Hindu people. They still represent the early Aryan civilisation of India. Indeed, the essential history of India is a narrative of the attacks upon the continuity of their civilisation,—that is to say, of attacks upon the Bráhmaismal system of the Middle Land, and of the modifications and compromises to which that system has had to submit.

¹ Namely, on Buddhism, the Greeks in India, the Scythic Inroads, the Rise of Hinduism, Early Muhammadan Rulers, the Mughal Empire, and the Maráthá Power. We still await the complete evidence of coins and inscriptions; although valuable materials have been already obtained from these silent memorials of the past. Mr. K. T. Telang's *Introduction to the Mudrárákshasa*, with Appendix, shows what can be gathered from a minute and critical examination of the historical data incidentally contained in the Hindu drama.

Those attacks mark out six epochs. First, the religious up-
 rising of the non-Aryan and the partially Bráhmanized Aryan
 tribes on the east of the Middle Land of Bengal ; initiated by
 the preaching of Buddha in the 6th century B.C., culminating in
 the Buddhist kingdoms about the commencement of our era,
 and melting into modern Hinduism about the 8th century A.D.
 Second, warlike inroads of non-Bráhmanical Aryans and Scythic
 races from the west ; strongly exemplified by the Greek invasions
 in the 4th century B.C., and continuing under the Greco-Bactrian
 empire and its Scythic rivals to probably the 5th century A.D.
 Third, the influence of the so-called aborigines or non-Aryan
 tribes of India and of the non-Aryan low-castes incorporated
 into the Hindu community ; an influence ever at work—indeed
 by far the most powerful agent in dissolving Bráhmanism into
 Hinduism, and specially active after the decline of Buddhism
 about the 7th century A.D.

Fourth, the reaction against the low beliefs, priestly oppres-
 sion, and bloody rites which resulted from this compromise
 between Bráhmanism and aboriginal worship. The reaction
 received an impetus from the preaching of Sankar Achárya,
 who founded his great Sivaite sect in the 8th century A.D.
 It obtained its full development under a line of ardent
 Vishnuite reformers from the 12th to the 16th centuries A.D.
 The fifth solvent of the ancient Bráhmanical civilisation of
 India was found in the Muhammadan invasions and the rule
 of Islám, 1000 to 1765 A.D. The sixth, in the English
 supremacy, and in the popular upheaval which it has produced
 in the 18th and 19th centuries. Each of these six epochs will,
 so far as space permits, receive separate treatment in the
 following chapters.

1. Buddh-
ism.2. Greeks,
and
Scythians3. Non-
Aryan
tribes.4. Hindu
sects.5. Muham-
madans.

6. English.

CHAPTER V.

BUDDHISM IN INDIA (543 B.C. TO 1000 A.D.).

Buddhism. THE first great solvent of Bráhmaism was the teaching of Gautama Buddha. The life of this celebrated man has three sides,—its personal aspects, its legendary developments, and its religious consequences upon mankind. In his own person, Buddha appears as a prince and preacher of ancient India. In the legendary developments of his story, Buddha ranks as a divine teacher among his followers, as an incarnation of Vishnu among the Hindus, and as a saint of the Christian church, with a day assigned to him in both the Greek and Roman calendars. As a religious founder, he left behind a system of belief which has gained more disciples than any other creed in the world; and which is now more or less accepted by 500 millions of people, or nearly one-half the human race. According to the Páli texts, Buddha was born 622 B.C., and died 543 B.C.¹ Modern calculations fix his death about 480 B.C.²

Gautama Buddha.

The story of Buddha, modelled on the epic type.

The story of Buddha's earthly career is a typical one. It is based on the old Indian ideal of the noble life which we have seen depicted in the Sanskrit epics. Like the Pándavas in the Mahábhárata, and like Ráma in the Rámáyana, Buddha is the miraculously born son of a king, belonging to one of the two great Aryan lines, the Solar and the Lunar; in Buddha's case, as in Ráma's, to the Solar. His youth, like that of the epic heroes, is spent under Bráhma tutors, and like the epic heroes he obtains a beautiful bride after a display of unexpected prowess with the bow; or, as the northern Buddhists relate, at an actual *swayam-vara*, by a contest in arms for the princess. A period of voluntary exile follows an interval of married happiness, and Buddha retires like Ráma to a Bráhma's hermitage in the forest.

Buddha and Ráma.

The sending back of the charioteer to the bereaved father's capital forms an episode in the story of both the young princes. As in the Rámáyana, so in the legend of Buddha, it is to the

¹ Childers' *Dictionary of the Páli Language*, s.v. Buddhó, p. 96.

² Oldenberg's *Buddha, Sein Leben* etc. (Hoey's excellent translation, p. 197). *Vide post*, p. 153.

jungles on the south of the Ganges, lying between the Aryan settlements and the aboriginal races, that the royal exile repairs. After a time of seclusion, the Pándavas, Ráma, and Buddha alike emerge to achieve great conquests; the two former by force of arms, the last by the weapons of the Spirit. Up to this point the outline of the three stories has followed the same type; but henceforth it diverges. The Sanskrit epics depict the ideal Aryan man as prince, hermit, and hero. In the legend of Buddha, that ideal has developed into prince, hermit, and saint.

Gautama, afterwards named Buddha, 'The Enlightened,' and Siddhártha, 'He who has fulfilled his end,' was the only son of Suddhodana, King of Kapilavastu. This prince, the chief of the Sákya clan, ruled over an outlying Aryan settlement on the north-eastern border of the Middle Land, about a hundred miles to the north of Benares, and within sight of the snow-topped Himálayas. A Gautama Rájput of the noble Solar line, he wished to see his son grow up on the warlike model of his race. But the young prince shunned the sports of his playmates, and retired to solitary day-dreams in nooks of the palace garden. The king tried to win his son to a practical career by marrying him to a beautiful and talented girl; and the youthful Gautama unexpectedly proved his manliness by a victory over the flower of the young chiefs at a tournament. For a while he forgot his solemn speculations on the unseen, in the sweet realities of early married life.

But in his drives through the city he deeply reflected on the types of old age, disease, and death which met his eye; and he was powerfully impressed by the calm of a holy man, who seemed to have raised his soul above the changes and sorrows of this world. After ten years, his wife bore to him an only son; and Gautama, fearing lest this new tie should bind him too closely to the things of earth, retired about the age of thirty to a cave among the forest-clad spurs of the Vindhya. The story of how he turned away from the door of his wife's lamp-lit chamber, denying himself even a parting caress of his new-born babe lest he should wake the sleeping mother, and galloped off into the darkness, is one of the many tender episodes in his life. After a gloomy night ride, he sent back his one companion, the faithful charioteer, with his horse and jewels to his father. Having cut off his long Rájput locks, and exchanged his princely raiment for the rags of a poor passer-by, he went on alone a homeless beggar. This abandonment of earthly pomp and power, and of loved

The
Indian
legend.

Parentage
of Gau-
tama
Buddha.

622 B.C.

His lonely
youth, *et.*
1-19.

His mar-
ried life,
et. 19-29.

His Great
Renuncia-
tion, *et.*
29-30.

wife and new-born son, is the Great Renunciation which forms a favourite theme of the Buddhist scriptures in Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan, and Chinese. It has furnished, during twenty centuries, the type of self-sacrifice which all Indian reformers must follow if they are to win the trust of the people.

Buddha's forest life, *at.* 30-36 or 29-34. For a time Buddha studied under two Brāhman recluses, near RAJAGRIHA, in Patná District, learning from them that the path to divine knowledge and tranquillity of soul lies through the subjection of the flesh. He then buried himself deeper in the south-eastern jungles, which at that time covered Gayá District, and during six years wasted himself by austerities in company with five disciples. The temple of BUDDH-GAYA marks the site of his long penance. But instead of earning peace of mind by fasting and self-torture, he reached a crisis of religious despair, during which the Buddhist scriptures affirm that the enemy of mankind, Māra, wrestled with him in bodily shape. Torn with doubts as to whether, after all his penance, he was not destined to perdition, the haggard ascetic, in a final paroxysm, fell senseless to the earth.

588 B.C.

His spiritual crisis.

His temptation.

His 'Enlightenment.'

When he recovered, the mental struggle had passed. He felt that the path to salvation lay not in self-torture in a mountain cave, but in preaching a higher life to his fellow-men. His five disciples, shocked by his giving up penance, forsook him; and Buddha was left in solitude to face the question whether he alone was right and all the devout minds of his age were wrong. The Buddhist scriptures depict him as sitting serene under a fig-tree, while the great Enemy and his crew whirled round him with flaming weapons. 'When the conflict began between the Saviour of the World and the Prince of Evil,' says one of their sacred texts,¹ the earth shook; the sea uprose from her bed, the rivers turned back to the mountains, the hill-tops fell crashing to the plains, the sun was darkened, and a host of headless spirits rode upon the tempest. From his temptation in the wilderness, the ascetic emerged with his doubts for ever laid at rest, seeing his way clear, and henceforth to be known as Buddha, literally 'The Enlightened.'²

This was Buddha's second birth; and the *pīpal* fig or Bo (Bodhi), literally the Tree of the Enlightenment, under whose spreading branches its pangs were endured, has become

¹ The Madhurattha-Vilāsini, *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. vii. p. 812. Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, p. 36.

² According to the Ceylonese texts, Buddha 'obtained Buddhahood' in 588 B.C. This would make him 34, not 36 years of age. Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. Buddhō.

the sacred tree of 500 millions of mankind. It is the *Ficus religiosa* of Western science. The idea of a second birth was familiar to the twice-born Aryan castes of ancient India, and was represented by their race-ceremony of investing the boy at the close of childhood with the sacred thread. In this, as in its other features, the story of Buddha adheres to ancient Aryan types, but gives to them a new spiritual significance. Having passed through the three prescribed stages of the Aryan saintly life,—as learner, householder, and forest recluse,—he now entered on its fourth stage as a religious mendicant. But he developed from the old Bráhmancial model of the wandering ascetic, intent only on saving his own soul, the nobler type of the preacher, striving to bring deliverance to the souls of others.

His story follows the old Aryan types.

Two months after his temptation in the wilderness, Buddha commenced his public teaching in the Deer-Forest, on the outskirts of the great city of Benares. Unlike the Bráhmans, he addressed himself, not to one or two disciples of the sacred caste, but to the mass of the people. His first converts were laymen, and among the earliest were women. After three months of ministry, he had gathered around him sixty disciples, whom he sent forth to the neighbouring countries with these words: 'Go ye now and preach the most excellent Law.' The essence of his teaching was the deliverance of man from the sins and sorrows of life by self-renunciation and inward self-control. While the sixty disciples went on their missionary tour among the populace, Buddha converted certain celebrated hermits and fire-worshippers by an exposition of the philosophical side of his doctrine. With this new band he journeyed on to Rájágríha, where the local king and his subjects joined the faith, but where also he first experienced the fickleness of the multitude. Two-thirds of each year he spent as a wandering preacher. The remaining four months of the rainy season he abode at some fixed place, often near Rájágríha, teaching the people who flocked around his little dwelling in the bamboo grove. His five old disciples, who had forsaken him in the time of his sore temptation in the wilderness, penitently rejoined their master. Princes, merchants, artificers, Bráhmans and hermits, husbandmen and serfs, noble ladies and repentant courtesans, were yearly added to those who believed.

Public teaching of Buddha, at. 36-80.

He sends forth the Sixty.

He converts the people,

Buddha preached throughout a large part of Behar, in the Oudh, and the adjacent Districts in the North-Western Provinces. In after ages monasteries marked his halting-

in the Gangetic valley

Buddha
converts
his own
family.

places; and the principal scenes of his life, such as AJODHYA, BUDDH-GAYA, SRAVASTI, the modern SAHET MAHET, RAJAGRIHA, etc., became the great places of pilgrimage for the Buddhist world. His visit to his aged father at Kapilavastu, whence he had gone forth as a brilliant young prince, and to which he returned as a wandering preacher, in dingy yellow robes, with shaven head and the begging bowl in his hand, is a touching episode which appeals to the heart of universal mankind. The old king heard him with reverence. The son, whom Buddha had left as a new-born babe, was converted to the faith; and his beloved wife, from the threshold of whose chamber he had ridden away into the darkness, became one of the first of Buddhist nuns.

He pro-
phesies his
death.

The Great Renunciation took place in his twenty-ninth year. After silent self-preparation, his public ministry commenced in his thirty-sixth, and during forty-four years he preached to the people. In prophesying his death, he said to his followers: 'Be earnest, be thoughtful, be holy. Keep steadfast watch over your own hearts. He who holds fast to the law and discipline, and faints not, he shall cross the ocean of life and make an end of sorrow.' He spent his last night in preaching, and in comforting a weeping disciple; his latest words, according to one account, were, 'Work out your salvation with diligence.' He died calmly, at the age of eighty,¹ under the shadow of a fig-tree, at Kusinagara, the modern KASIA, in Gorakhpur District.

Buddha's
last words.
543 B.C.

Different
versions
of the
Legend.

Such is the story of Gautama Buddha's life derived from Indian sources, a story which has the value of gospel truth to 31 millions² of devout believers. But the two branches even of Indian or Southern Buddhism have each their own version, and the Buddha of the Burmese differs in important respects from the Buddha of the Ceylonese.³ Still wider is the diver-

¹ According to some accounts; according to others, at about seventy. But the chronology of Buddha's life is legendary.

² The following estimate is given by Mr. Rhys Davids of the number of the Southern Buddhists, substituting for his Indian figures the results ascertained by the Census of 1881:—

| | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| In Ceylon, | 1,520,575 |
| „ India and British Burma, | nearly 4,000,000 |
| „ Burma, | 3,000,000 |
| „ Siam, | 10,000,000 |
| „ Anam, | 12,000,000 |
| „ Jains, | 485,020 |
| Total, | 31,005,595 |

³ The original Páli text of the *Commentary of the Játakhas* is assigned

gence which the Northern or Tibetan Buddhists give to the legend of the life and to the teaching of their Master. The southern texts dwell upon the early career of Buddha up to the time of his Enlightenment in his 34th or 36th year. The incidents of that period have a peculiar pathos, and appeal to the most sacred experiences of humanity in all ages. They form the favourite episodes of European works on Buddhism. But such works are apt to pay perhaps too little attention to the fact that the first thirty-four years of Buddha's life were only a self-preparation for a social and religious propaganda prolonged to an extreme old age.

The forty-six years of intense personal labour, during which Buddha traversed wide regions, converted nations, withstood kings, eluded assassins, and sifted out false disciples, receive more attention in the northern legends. These legends have lately been compiled from the Tibetan texts into a work which furnishes a new and most interesting view of Buddha's life.¹ The best authority on the Southern Buddhism of Burma states that the history of the Master 'offers an almost complete blank as to what regards his doings and preachings during a period of nearly twenty-three years.'²

The texts of the Northern Buddhists fill up this blank. Southern Buddhism modelled its biographies of the Master

Later
years of
Buddha.

Northern
Texts.

to Ceylonese scribes, *circa* 450 A.D. The first part of it was published by Fausboll in 1875 (Copenhagen); and Mr. Rhys Davids' translation, with valuable introduction and notes, appeared under the title of *Buddhist Birth Stories* in 1880 (Trübner, London). Mr. Childers' *Dictionary of the Pāli Language* is a storehouse of original materials from Ceylonese sources, and has been used for verifying all statements in the present chapter. A compendious view of Southern Buddhism, ancient and modern, will be found in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, translated from Singalese ms. The Burmese branch of Southern Buddhism is well represented by Bishop Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Gaudama* (third edition, 2 vols., Trübner, 1880), and by Mr. Alabaster's *The Wheel of the Law*, a translation or paraphrase of the Siamese *Pathama Sambodhiyan*. Mr. Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, and his *Hibbert Lectures*, give an excellent review of the faith. The French works, the original authorities in Europe, have (in some respects) been superseded by Oldenberg's *Buddha, Sein Leben* etc.

¹ *The Life of the Buddha, and the Early History of his Order, derived from Tibetan Works in the Bkah-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur*, translated by W. Woodville Rockhill, Second Secretary to the United States Legation in China (Trübner & Co., London 1884). Mr. Beal's *Si-yu-ki, or Buddhist Records of the Western World*, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang, throws curious side-lights upon the traditions which the Chinese pilgrim brought with him or heard in India regarding the local incidents of Buddha's life.

² From the fifty-sixth to the seventy-ninth year of his life. Bishop Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Gaudama*, vol. i. p. 260, and footnote.

The Indian epic type ; upon the Indian epic type. Such biographies, as already stated, reproduce the three stages in the life of an Aryan hero, depicted by the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana* ; except that the three ideal stages have developed from those of prince, hermit, and warrior, to those of prince, hermit, and saint. In the northern conditions of China and Tibet, Buddha appears by no means as an Aryan hero. He is rather the representative of a race with birth-customs and death-rites of its own—of a race dwelling amid the epic Aryan kingdoms of India, but with traces of a separate identity in the past. He is a Sakya (perhaps a Scythic) prince, whose clan had settled to the south of the *Himālayas*, and preserved relics of a non-Aryan type.

The Tibetan type.

The philosophical type

of the Southern Buddha.

The artificial character which the southern legends give to the life of Buddha, arose from their tendency to assimilate him with epic Indian types. It was intensified by the equally Indian tendency to convert actual facts into philosophical abstractions. Gautama or Sakya-Muni became only a link in a long series of just men made perfect. According to the Ceylonese texts, a Buddha is a human being who has obtained perfect self-control and infinite knowledge. Having attained Enlightenment himself, he spends the rest of his life in preaching the truth to others. At his death he is reabsorbed into the Divine Essence, and his religion flourishes for a certain period until it dies out, and a new Buddha appears to preach anew the lost truth. The attainment of Buddhahood is the final result of virtue and self-sacrifice during many previous lives. Innumerable Buddhas have been born in this world ; 24 of whom are separately named. Gautama was only the latest, and his doctrine is destined to give place to the *Metteya Buddha*, or Buddha of Kindness, who is next to come.¹

The northern concrete type.

The Buddha of the northern legends is a reformer of a more concrete type. The Tibetan texts give prominence to the political aspects of his Reformation. Incidentally, indeed, they amplify several of the touching episodes familiar to Southern Buddhism. The 'great Fear' which impelled the young prince forth from his palace into the darkness to seek a higher life ; the dirt and stones thrown at the wanderer by the village girls ; the parables of the Mango-tree, the Devout Slave, and many others ; the rich young man who left all for the faith and was *not* exceeding sorry ; and Buddha's own retirement from Benares to avoid the gifts and honours which were being thrust upon him,—receive fresh illustration from the Tibetan texts.²

¹ Mr. Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 96. Sanskrit, *Maitraya*.

² The materials for the following paragraphs are derived mainly from Mr. Rockhill's work (1884), already cited.

But it is from the political and historical aspects that the Tibetan life of Buddha possesses its special value. We learn that Buddhism was in its origin only one of many conflicting sects; indeed, that alike to its royal patrons and opponents it appeared at first in the light of a new order rather than in the light of a new faith.¹ The early struggles of Buddhism were neither with the old Aryan gods, nor with the Bráhmans as a caste; but with rival orders of philosophers or ascetics, and with schismatics among its own followers. The gods of the Veda, Brahma, Indra, and the Shining Ones, appear in friendly relations with Buddha, and attend upon him in more than one crisis of his life. The Bráhmans were no longer a caste altogether devoted to a spiritual life. The Tibetan texts disclose them as following partly religious, partly secular avocations, and as among 'the great nobles' of an Indian kingdom. The Bráhman attitude to the new faith was by no means one of confederate hostility. The main body of Bráhmans continued non-Buddhistic, and taught their doctrines at royal courts. But many conspicuous converts were drawn from among them, and the Tibetan texts almost uniformly speak of Bráhmans with respect.

The opponents of the Tibetan Buddha were rival sects whom he found in possession of the field, and the false brethren who arose among his own disciples. The older hostile sects were confuted, sometimes by fair discussion, but more often by superior magical feats. Indeed, transformations and miraculous appearances seem for a time to have furnished the most potent arguments of the new faith. But eventually Buddha forbade resort to such testimonies, and magic became to the orthodox Buddhist an unholy art. In his later years, Buddha more than once insists that his doctrine is essentially one to be understood of the people; that he was keeping back no secret for an initiated few; and that he was the preacher of a strictly popular religion without any esoteric side.

It was from among his own disciples that his bitterest enemies came. The Sakya race of Kapilavastu had adopted his teaching as a nation, without much pretence of individual conversion. Buddha's modest beginnings, first with the five followers, then with the sixty, then with the thousand, now took a national development. In the fervour of the new movement, the Sakyas proclaimed that one man out of every family must enter the Buddhist mendicant order; and it was from this ordinance, to which Buddha was compelled to give a reluctant assent, that the troubles of his later life arose.

¹ Rockhill, *op. cit.* Also Rhys Davids' *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 156.

Political
life of
Buddha.

Buddha's
real
opponents.

His
magical
arts.

Wholesale
Sakya
conversion

Schism of
Devadatta. The discontent among the forced disciples found a leader in Buddha's own cousin, Devadatta, who aspired by superior asceticism to the headship. For the schism which he created, Devadatta won the support of the Heir-apparent of Magadha. A struggle, partly religious partly political, ensued. Devadatta was for a time triumphant. He abetted the murder of the Magadha king, the father of his ally; forced the aged Buddha into retirement; and plundered and oppressed the people. The miraculous deliverances of 'the Blessed One' from the catapult, and from the wild elephant let loose against him in a narrow street, mark, however, the turning-point in the fortunes of the schism. Devadatta was confuted by magical arts, and his royal patron was converted to the true faith. The traitor disciple having thus failed to usurp the spiritual leadership of the Sakyas, attempted to seduce the wife whom Buddha had left in solitude. The apostate hoped with her aid to stand forth as the king or temporal leader of the Sakya race. His contemptuous rejection by the loyal Sakya princess, his acts of despairing cruelty, and his fall into hell with a lie in his mouth, fitly close the career of the first great schismatic.

His fall
into hell.

Buddha,
the Sakya
prince.

Disasters
of his race.

Throughout the Tibetan texts, Buddha figures as a typical Sakya; first as a young Kshatriya or prince of the royal line, and then as a saintly personage who turns back an army sent against his nation by the force of his piety alone. Such spiritual weapons, however, proved a feeble defence in early India. Eventually, the Sakya capital was attacked by overwhelming numbers. For a time the enemy were repulsed without the Buddhists incurring the sin of taking life. But their firm adherence to their Master's commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill,' in the end decided the fate of the Sakya city. Some escaped into exile and founded settlements in distant parts as far as the other side of the Punjab frontier. The fall of the city ended in the slaughter of 77,000 Sakyas, and in the dispersion of the remnants of the race. The story of the five hundred Sakya youths and five hundred Sakya maidens who were carried into captivity is a pathetic one. The five hundred youths were massacred in cold blood; and the faithful Sakya maidens, having refused to enter the harem of their conqueror, were exposed to the populace with their hands and feet chopped off. How Buddha came to them in their misery, dressed their wounds, and comforted them with the hope of a better life, 'so that they died in the faith,' is affectingly told.

The foregoing narrative touches only on one or two aspects of the Tibetan texts. It suffices to show the characteristic

divergences between the northern and the southern legend. In the northern, there is a gradually developed contrast between two main figures, the traitor Devadatta and his brother Ananda, the Beloved Disciple. The last year of Buddha's ministry is dwelt on by both. But its full significance and its most tender episodes are treated with special unction in the northern version of the Book of the Great Decease. The Fo-wei-kian-king,¹ or 'Dying Instruction of Buddha,' translated into Chinese between 397 and 415 A.D. from a still earlier Sanskrit text, gives to the last scene a peculiar beauty. 'It was now in the middle of the night,' it says, 'perfectly quiet and still; for the sake of his disciples, he delivered a summary of the law.' After laying down the rules of a good life, he revealed the inner doctrines of his faith. From these a few sentences may be taken. 'The heart is lord of the senses: govern, therefore, your heart; watch well the heart.' 'Think of the fire that shall consume the world, and early seek deliverance from it.' 'Lament not my going away, nor feel regret. For if I remained in the world, then what would become of the church? It must perish without fulfilling its end. From henceforth all my disciples, practising their various duties, shall prove that my true Body, the Body of the Law (*Dharmakaya*), is everlasting and imperishable. The world is fast bound in fetters; I now give it deliverance, as a physician who brings heavenly medicine. Keep your mind on my teaching; all other things change, this changes not. No more shall I speak to you. I desire to depart. I desire the eternal rest (*Nirvāna*). This is my last exhortation.'

Other aspects of the Tibetan Legend.

Chinese text of Buddha's dying discourse.

The doctrines of Buddha.

The secret of Buddha's success was that he brought spiritual deliverance to the people. He preached that salvation was equally open to all men, and that it must be earned, not by propitiating imaginary deities, but by our own conduct. His doctrines thus cut away the religious basis of caste, impaired the efficiency of the sacrificial ritual, and assailed the supremacy of the Bráhmans as the mediators between God and man. Buddha taught that sin, sorrow, and deliverance, the state of a man in this life, in all previous and in all future lives, are the inevitable results of his own acts (*Karma*). He thus applied the inexorable law of cause and effect to the soul. What a man sows, he must reap.

Law of Karma.

As no evil remains without punishment, and no good deed without reward, it follows that neither priest nor God can prevent

¹ Translated in Appendix to the Catalogue of the Manuscripts presented by the Japanese Government to the Secretary of State for India, and now in the India Office.—Concluding letter of Mr. Beal to Dr. Rost, dated 1st September 1874, sec. 5.

each act bearing its own consequences. Misery or happiness in this life is the unavoidable result of our conduct in a past life; and our actions here will determine our happiness or misery in the life to come. When any creature dies, he is born again in some higher or lower state of existence, according to his meri or demerit. His merit, or demerit, that is his character, consists of the sum total of his actions in all previous lives.

By this great law of *Karma*, Buddha explained the inequalities and apparent injustice of man's estate in this world as the consequence of acts in the past; while Christianity compensates those inequalities by rewards in the future. A system in which our whole well-being, past, present, and to come, depends on ourselves, theoretically leaves little room for the interference, or even existence, of a personal God.¹ But the atheism of Buddha was a philosophical tenet, which so far from weakening the sanctions of right and wrong, gave them new strength from the doctrine of *Karma*, or the Metempsychosis of Character.

The liberation of the soul.

Nirvāna.

To free ourselves from the thralldom of desire and from the fetters of selfishness, was to attain to the state of the perfect disciple, *Arahat* in this life, and to the everlasting rest after death, *Nirvāna*. Some Buddhists explain *Nirvāna* as absolute annihilation, when the soul is blown out like the flame of a lamp. Others hold that it is merely the extinction of the sins, sorrows, and selfishness of individual life. The fact is, that the doctrine underwent processes of change and development, like all theological dogmas. 'But the earliest idea of *Nirvāna*,' says one of the greatest authorities on Chinese Buddhism, 'seems to have included in it no more than the enjoyment of a state of rest consequent on the extinction of all causes of sorrow.'² The great practical aim of Buddha's teaching was to subdue the lusts of the flesh and the cravings of self; and *Nirvāna* has been taken to mean the extinction of the sinful grasping condition of heart which, by the inevitable law of *Karma*, would involve the penalty of renewed individual existence. As the Buddhist strove to reach a state of quietism or holy meditation in this world, namely, the

¹ 'Buddhism,' says Mr. Beal, *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, p. 153, 'declares itself ignorant of any mode of personal existence compatible with the idea of spiritual perfection, and so far, it is ignorant of God.'

² Beal, *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, p. 157, ed. 1871; and the *Buddhist Tripitaka*, App., Letter to Dr. Rost, sec. 6. Max Müller deals with the word from the etymological and Sanskrit side in his *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. i. pp. 279, 290, ed. 1867. But see, specially, Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *Nibbānam*, pp. 265-274.

state of the perfect disciple or *Arahat*; so he looked forward to an eternal calm in a world to come, *Nirvāṇa*.

Buddha taught that this end could only be attained by the practice of virtue. He laid down eight precepts of morality, with two more for the religious orders, making ten commandments (*dasa sīla*) in all. He arranged the besetting faults of mankind into ten sins, and set forth the special duties applicable to each condition of life; to parents and children, to pupils and teachers, to husbands and wives, to masters and servants, to laymen and the religious orders. In place of the Brāhman rites and sacrifices, Buddha prescribed a code of practical morality as the means of salvation. The four essential features of that code were—reverence to spiritual teachers and parents, control over self, kindness to other men, and reverence for the life of all sentient creatures.

Moral
code.

The Ten
Command-
ments.

He urged on his disciples that they must not only follow the true path themselves, but that they should preach it to all mankind. Buddhism has from the first been a missionary religion. One of the earliest acts of Buddha's public ministry was to send forth the Sixty; and he carefully formulated the four chief means of conversion. These were companionship with the good, listening to the Law, reflection upon the truths heard, and the practice of virtue. He also instituted a religious Order, one of whose special duties it was to go forth and preach to the nations. While, therefore, the Brāhmins kept their ritual for the twice-born Aryan castes, Buddhism addressed itself not only to those castes and to the lower mass of the people, but to all the non-Aryan races throughout India, and eventually to almost the whole Asiatic world. Two features of the Buddhist Order were its fortnightly meetings and public confession, or 'Disburdenment' of sins.

Missionary
aspects of
Buddhism.

On the death of Buddha, five hundred of his disciples met in a vast cave near Rājāgriha to gather together his sayings. This was the First Council. They chanted the lessons of their master in three great divisions—the words of Buddha to his disciples;¹ his code of discipline;² and his system of doctrine.³ These became the Three Collections⁴ of Buddha's teaching; and the word for a Buddhist Council⁵ means literally 'a singing together.' A century afterwards, a Second Council, of seven hundred, was held at Vaisali, to settle disputes between the more and the less strict followers of Buddhism. It condemned a system of ten 'Indulgences' which had grown

The First
Council,
543 B.C. (?)

Second
Buddhist
Council,
443 B.C. (?)

¹ *Sūtras*.

² *Vinaya*.

³ *Abhidharma*.

⁴ *Pitakas*, lit. 'baskets'; afterwards the five *Nikāyas*. ⁵ *Sangīti* in Pāli.

up ; but it led to the separation of the Buddhists into two hostile parties, who afterwards split into eighteen sects.

Third
Buddhist
Council,
244 B.C. (?)

During the next two hundred years Buddhism spread over Northern India, perhaps receiving a new impulse from the Greek kingdoms in the Punjab. About 257 B.C., Asoka, the King of Magadha or Behar, became a zealous convert to the faith.¹ Asoka was grandson of the Chandra Gupta whom we shall meet as an adventurer in Alexander's camp, and afterwards as an ally of Seleukos. Asoka is said to have supported 64,000 Buddhist priests ; he founded many religious houses, and his kingdom is called the Land of the Monasteries (Vihāra or Behar) to this day.

The work
of Asoka.

Asoka did for Buddhism what Constantine afterwards effected for Christianity ; he organized it on the basis of a State religion. This he accomplished by five means—by a Council to settle the faith, by edicts promulgating its principles, by a State Department to watch over its purity, by missionaries to spread its doctrines, and by an authoritative revision or canon of the Buddhist scriptures. In 244 B.C., Asoka convened at Patná the Third Buddhist Council, of one thousand elders. Evil men, taking on them the yellow robe of the Order, had given forth their own opinions as the teaching of Buddha. Such heresies were now corrected ; and the Buddhism of Southern Asia practically dates from Asoka's Council.

(1) His
Great
Council.

¹ Much learning has been expended upon the age of Asoka, and various dates have been assigned to him. But, indeed, all Buddhist dates are open questions, according to the system of chronology adopted. The middle of the 3rd century B.C. may be taken as the era of Asoka. The following table from General Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, p. vii. (1877), exhibits the results of the latest researches on this subject :—

| | |
|----------|--|
| B.C. 264 | ASOKA, Struggle with brothers, 4 years. |
| 260 | Comes to the throne. |
| 257 | Conversion to Buddhism. |
| 256 | Treaty with Antiochus. |
| 255 | Mahindo ordained. |
| 251 | Earliest date of rock edicts. |
| 249 | Second date of rock edicts. |
| 248 | Arsakes rebels in Parthia. |
| 246 | Diodotus rebels in Bactria. |
| 244 | Third Buddhist Council under Mogaliputra. |
| 243 | Mahindo goes to Ceylon. |
| 242 | Barábar cave inscriptions. |
| 234 | Pillar edicts issued. |
| 231 | Queen Asandhimitta dies. |
| 228 | Second Queen married. |
| 226 | Her attempt to destroy the Bodhi tree. |
| 225 | Asoka becomes an ascetic. |
| 224 | Issues Rúpnáth and Sasseram edicts. |
| 223 | Dies. |
| 215 | DASARATHA's cave inscriptions, Nágárijuni. |

In a number of edicts, before and after the synod, he published (2) His throughout India the cardinal principles of the faith. Such edicts are still found graven deep upon pillars, caves, and rocks, from the Yusafzai valley beyond Pesháwar on the north-western frontier, through the heart of Hindustán and the Central Provinces, to Káthiáwár in the west, and Orissa in the east coast of India. Tradition states that Asoka set up 84,000 memorial columns or topes. The Chinese pilgrims came upon them in the inner Himálayas. Forty-two inscriptions still surviving show how widely these royal sermons were spread over India itself.¹

In the year of the Council, Asoka founded a State Department to watch over the purity, and to direct the spread, of the faith. A Minister of Justice and Religion (Dharma Mahámátra) directed its operations; and, as one of its first duties was to proselytize, this Minister was charged with the welfare of the aborigines among whom his missionaries were sent. Asoka did not think it enough to convert the inferior races, without looking after their material interests. Wells were to be dug, and trees planted, along the roads; a system of medical aid was

(3) His Department of Public Worship.

¹ Major-General Cunningham, Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, enumerates 14 rock inscriptions, 17 cave inscriptions, and 11 inscribed pillars. The rock inscriptions are at—(1) Sháhábgarhi in the Yusafzai country, 40 miles east-north-east of Pesháwar; (2) Khálsi on the west bank of the Jumna; (3) Girnár in Káthiáwár, 40 miles north of Somnáth; (4 to 7) Dhauli in Cuttack, midway between Cuttack and Puri, and Jaugada in Ganjám District, 18 miles north-north-west of Barhampur,—two inscriptions at each, virtually identical; (8) Sasseram, at the north-east end of the Káimur range, 70 miles south-east of Benares; (9) Rúpnáth, a famous place of pilgrimage, 35 miles north of Jabalpur; (10 and 11) Bairát, 41 miles north of Jaipur; (12) the Khandgiri Hill, near Dhauli in Cuttack; (13) Deotek, 50 miles south-east of Nágpur; (14) Mánsera, north-west of Ráwal Pindi, inscribed in the Bactrian character. The cave inscriptions, 17 in number, are found at—(1, 2, 3) Barábar, and (4, 5, 6) Nágárajuni Hills, both places 15 miles north of Gayá; (7 to 15) Khandgiri Hill in Cuttack, and (16 and 17) Rámgarh in Sirguja. The eleven inscribed pillars are—(1) the Delhi-Siwálik, at Delhi; (2) the Delhi-Meerut, at Delhi; (3) the Allahábád; (4) the Lauriya-Araráj, at Lauriya, 77 miles north of Patná; (5) the Lauriya-Navandgarh, at another Lauriya, 15 miles north-north-west of Bettia; (6 and 7) two additional edicts on the Delhi-Siwálik, not found on any other pillar; (8 and 9) two short additional edicts on the Allahábád pillar, peculiar to itself; (10) a short mutilated record on a fragment of a pillar at Sánchi, near Bhilsa; (11) at Rámpura in the Tarái, north-east of the second Lauriya, near Bettia. The last-named pillar and the rock inscription at Mánsera (No. 14) are recent discoveries since the first edition of this work was published. The Mánsera rock inscription is interesting as being the second in the Bactrian character, and for its recording twelve Edicts complete.

established throughout his kingdom and the conquered Provinces, as far as Ceylon, for man and beast.¹ Officers were appointed to watch over domestic life and public morality,² and to promote instruction among the women as well as the youth.

(4) Missionary efforts.

Asoka recognised proselytism by peaceful means as a State duty. The Rock Inscriptions record how he sent forth missionaries 'to the utmost limits of the barbarian countries,' to 'intermingle among all unbelievers,' for the spread of religion. They shall mix equally with soldiers, Bráhmans, and beggars, with the dreaded and the despised, both within the kingdom 'and in foreign countries, teaching better things.'³ Conversion is to be effected by persuasion, not by the sword. Buddhism was at once the most intensely missionary religion in the world, and the most tolerant. This character of a proselytizing faith, which wins its victories by peaceful means, so strongly impressed upon it by Asoka, has remained a prominent feature of Buddhism to the present day. Asoka, however, not only took measures to spread the religion, he also endeavoured to secure its orthodoxy. He collected the body of doctrine into an authoritative version, in the Mágadhí language or dialect of his central kingdom in Behar; a version which for two thousand years has formed the canon (*pitakas*) of the Southern Buddhists. In this way, the Mágadhí dialect became the Páli or sacred language of the Ceylonese.

(5) Reformed canon of Buddhist scriptures.

Edicts of Asoka.

Mr. Robert Cust thus summarizes Asoka's Fourteen Edicts:—

1. Prohibition of the slaughter of animals for food or sacrifice.
2. Provision of a system of medical aid for men and animals, and of plantations and wells on the roadside.
3. Order for a quinquennial humiliation and re-publication of the great moral precepts of the Buddhist faith.
4. Comparison of the former state of things, and the happy existing state under the king.
5. Appointment of missionaries to go into various countries, which are enumerated, to convert the people and foreigners.
6. Appointment of informers (or inspectors) and guardians of morality.
7. Expression of a desire that there may be uniformity of religion and equality of rank.
8. Contrast of the carnal pleasures of previous rulers with the pious enjoyments of the present king.
9. Inculcation of the true happiness to be found in virtue, through which alone the blessings of heaven can be propitiated.

¹ Rock Inscriptions, Edict ii., General Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum*, p. 118.

² Rock Inscriptions, Edict vi. etc., *Corpus Inscriptionum*, p. 120. These Inspectors of Morals are supposed to correspond to the Sixth Caste of Megasthenes, the *Ἐπισκότοι* of Arrian.

³ Rock Inscriptions, Edict v. etc., *Corpus Inscriptionum*, p. 120.

10. Contrast of the vain and transitory glory of this world with the reward for which the king strives and looks beyond.
11. Inculcation of the doctrine that the imparting of *dharma* or teaching of virtue to others is the greatest of charitable gifts.
12. Address to all unbelievers.
13. (Imperfect) ; the meaning conjectural.
14. Summing up of the whole.

The fourth and last of the great Buddhist Councils was held under King Kanishka, according to one tradition four centuries after Buddha's death. The date of Kanishka is still uncertain ; but, from the evidence of coins and inscriptions, his reign has been fixed in the 1st century after Christ, or, say, 40 A.D.¹ Kanishka, the most famous of the Saka conquerors, ruled over North-Western India, and the adjoining countries. His authority had its nucleus in Kashmír, but it extended to both sides of the Himálayas, from Yarkand and Khokand to Agra and Sind.

Kanishka's Council of five hundred drew up three commentaries on the Buddhist faith. These commentaries supplied in part materials for the Tibetan or Northern Canon, completed at subsequent periods. The Northern Canon, or, as the Chinese proudly call it, the 'Greater Vehicle of the Law,' includes many later corruptions or developments of the Buddhism which was originally embodied by Asoka in the 'Lesser Vehicle,' or Canon of the Southern Buddhists (244 B.C.). The Buddhist Canon of China, a branch of the 'Greater Vehicle,' was gradually arranged between 67 and 1285 A.D. It includes 1440 distinct works, comprising 5586 books. The ultimate divergence between the Canons is great. They differ not only, as we have seen, in regard to the legend of Buddha's life, but also as to his teaching. With respect to doctrine, one example will suffice. According to the Northern or 'Greater Vehicle,' Buddhist monks who transgress wilfully after ordination may yet recover themselves ; while to such castaways the Southern or 'Lesser Vehicle' allowed no room for repentance.²

The original of the Northern Canon was written in the Sanskrit language, perhaps because the Kashmír and northern priests, who formed Kanishka's Council, belonged to isolated Himálayan settlements which had been little influenced by the

¹ The latest efforts to fix the date of Kanishka are little more than records of conflicting authorities. See Dr. James Fergusson's paper in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Article ix., April 1880 ; and Mr. E. Thomas' comprehensive disquisition on the Sáh and Gupta coins, pp. 18-79 of the *Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for 1874-75*, 4to, London, 1876.

² Beal, *Catena*, p. 253.

growth of the Indian vernacular dialects. In one of these dialects, the Mágadhí of Behar, the Southern Canon had been compiled by Asoka and expanded by commentators. Indeed, the Buddhist compilations appear to have given the first literary impulse to the Prákrits or spoken Aryan dialects in India; as represented by the Páli or Mágadhí of the Ceylonese Buddhist scriptures, and the Maháráshtri of the ancient sacred books of the Jains. The northern priests, who compiled Kanishka's Canon, preferred the 'perfected' Sanskrit, which had become by that time the accepted literary vehicle of the learned throughout India, to the Prákrit or 'natural' dialects of the Gangetic valley. Kanishka and his Kashmir Council (40 A.D.?) became to the Northern or Tibeto-Chinese Buddhists, what Asoka and his Patná Council (244 B.C.) had been to the Buddhists of Ceylon and the South.

Buddhism
as a
national
religion;

Buddhism was thus organized as a State religion by the Councils of Asoka and Kanishka. It started from Bráhma-
manical doctrines; but from those doctrines, not as taught in hermitages to clusters of Bráhma-
man disciples, but as vitalized by a preacher of rare power in the capital cities of India. Buddha did not abolish caste. On the contrary, reverence to Bráhma-
mans and to the spiritual guide ranked among the four great sets of duties, with obedience to parents, control over self, and acts of kindness to all men and animals. He introduced, however, a new classification of mankind, on the spiritual basis of believers and unbelievers.

its religious
orders;

The former took rank in the Buddhist community,—at first, according to their age and merit; in later times, as laity¹ and clergy² (*i.e.* the religious orders). Buddhism carried transmigration to its utmost spiritual use, and proclaimed our own actions to be the sole ruling influence on our past, present, and future states. It was thus led into the denial of any external being or god who could interfere with the immutable law of cause and effect as applied to the soul. But, on the other hand, it linked together mankind as parts of one universal whole, and denounced the isolated self-seeking of the human heart as 'the heresy of individuality.'³ Its mission was to make men more moral, kinder to others, and happier themselves; not to propitiate imaginary deities. It accordingly founded its teaching on man's duty to his neighbour, instead of on his obligations to God; and constructed its

¹ *Upasáka*.

² *Sramana*, *bhikshu* (monk or religious mendicant), *bhikshuní* (nun).

³ *Sakáyaditthi*.

ritual on the basis of relic-worship or the commemoration of good men, instead of on sacrifice. Its sacred buildings were not temples to the gods, but monasteries (*vihāras*) for the religious orders, with their bells and rosaries; or memorial shrines,¹ reared over a tooth or bone of the founder of the faith. and practical morality.

The missionary impulse given by Asoka quickly bore fruit. In the year after his great Council at Patná (244 B.C.), his son Mahindo² carried Asoka's version of the Buddhist scriptures in the Mágadhī language to Ceylon. He took with him a band of fellow-missionaries; and soon afterwards, his sister, the princess Sanghamittā, who had entered the Order, followed with a company of nuns. It was not, however, till six hundred years later (410-432 A.D.) that the Ceylonese Canon was written out in Pāli, the sacred Mágadhī language of the Southern Buddhists. About the same time, missionaries from Ceylon finally established the faith in Burma (450 A.D.). The Burmese themselves assert that two Buddhist preachers landed in Pegu as early as 207 B.C. Indeed, some Burmese date the arrival of Buddhist missionaries just after the Patná Council, 244 B.C., and point out the ruined city of Tha-tun, between the Sitaung (Tsit-taung) and Salwín estuaries, as the scene of their pious labours. Siam was converted to Buddhism in 638 A.D.; Java received its missionaries direct from India between the 5th and the 7th centuries, and spread the faith to Bali and Sumatra.³ Spread of Buddhism.
In the South, Ceylon, etc., 244 B.C. to 638 A.D.

While Southern Buddhism was thus wafted across the ocean, another stream of missionaries had found their way by Central Asia into China. Their first arrival in the Chinese empire is said to date from the 2nd century B.C., although it was not till 65 A.D. that Buddhism there became the established religion. The Greco-Bactrian kingdoms in the Punjab, and beyond it, afforded a favourable soil for the faith. The Scythian dynasties who succeeded the Greco-Bactrians accepted Buddhism; and the earliest remains which recent discovery has In the North, China, etc., 2nd century B.C. to 552 A.D.

¹ *Stūpas*, *topes*, literally 'heaps or tumuli'; *dagobas* or *dhātu-gopas*, 'relic-preservers'; *chaityas*.

² Sanskrit, Mahendra.

³ All these dates are uncertain. They are founded on the Singalese chronology, but the orthodox in the respective countries place their national conversion at remoter periods. Occasionally, however, the dates can be tested from external sources. Thus we know from the Chinese traveller Fa-Hian, that up to about 414 A.D. Java was still unconverted. Fa-Hian says, 'Heretics and Brāhmins were numerous there, and the law of Buddha is in nowise entertained.' The Burmese chroniclers go back to a time when the duration of human life was ninety millions of years; and when a single dynasty ruled for a period represented by a unit followed by 140 cyphers. See *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Article SANDOWAY.

Buddhist
influence
on Chris-
tianity.

unearthed in Afghánistán are Buddhist. Kanishka's Council, soon after the commencement of the Christian era, gave the great impetus to the faith beyond the Himálayas. Tibet, South Central Asia, and China, lay along the regular missionary routes of Northern Buddhism; the Kirghiz are said to have carried the religion as far west as the Caspian; on the east, Buddhism was introduced into the Corea in 372 A.D., and thence into Japan in 552.

Buddhist doctrines are believed to have deeply affected religious thought in Alexandria and Palestine. The question is yet undecided as to how far the Buddhist ideal of the holy life, with its monks, nuns, relic-worship, bells, and rosaries, influenced Christian monachism; and to what extent Buddhist philosophy aided the development of the Gnostic heresies, particularly those of Basilides and Manes, which rent the early church. It is certain that the analogies are striking, and have been pointed out alike by Jesuit missionaries in Asia, and by oriental scholars in Europe.¹ The form of abjuration for those who renounced the Gnostic doctrines of Manes, expressly mentions *Bóddha* and the *Σκυθιανός* (Buddha and the Scythian or Sákya)—seemingly, says Weber, a separation of Buddha the Sákya into two. At this moment, the Chinese in San Francisco assist their devotions by pictures of the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy, imported on thin paper from Canton, which the Irish Roman Catholics identify as the Virgin Mary with the Infant in her arms, an aureole round her head, an adoring figure at her feet, and the Spirit hovering in the form of a bird.²

But it is right to point out that the early Nestorian Christians in China may have been the source of some of these resemblances. The liturgy of the Goddess of Mercy, Kwan-yin, in which the analogies to the Eastern Christian office are most strongly marked, have been traced with certainty only as far back as 1412 A.D. in the Chinese Canon.³ Professor Max

¹ For the latter aspect of the question, see Weber, founding on Lassen, Renan, and Beal, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 309, note 363, ed. 1878.

² See also *post*, p. 153. Polemical writers, Christian and Chinese, have with equal injustice accused Buddhism and Christianity of consciously plagiarizing each other's rites. Thus Kuang-Hsien, the distinguished member of the Astronomical Board, who brought about the Chinese persecution of the Christians from 1665 to 1671, writes of them: 'They pilfer this talk about heaven and hell from the refuse of Buddhism, and then turn round and revile Buddhism.'—*The Death-blow to the Corrupt Doctrines of T'ien-chu* (i.e. Christianity), p. 46 (Shanghai, 1870). See also the remarks of Jao-chow—'The man most distressed in heart'—in the same collection.

³ For an excellent account from the Chinese texts of the worship and liturgy of Kwan-yin, 'the Saviour,' or in her female form as the Goddess of Mercy, see Beal's *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, 383-397 (Trübner, 1871).

Müller endeavoured to show that Buddha himself is the original of Saint Josaphat, who has a day assigned to him by both the Greek and Roman churches.¹

Professor Müller's Essay² has led to an examination of the whole evidence bearing on this subject.³ The results may be thus summarized. The Roman Martyrology at the end of the saints for the 27th November, states: 'Apud Indos Persis finitimos sanctorum Barlaam et Josaphat (commemoratio), quorum actus mirandos Joannes Damascenus conscripsit.' *Among the Indians who border on Persia, Saints Barlaam and Josaphat, whose wonderful works have been written of by St. John of Damascus.*

The story of these two saints is that of a young Indian prince, Josaphat, who is converted by a hermit, Barlaam. Josaphat undergoes the same awakening as Buddha from the pleasures of this world. His royal father had taken similar precautions to prevent the youth from becoming acquainted with the sorrows of life. But Josaphat, like Buddha, is struck by successive spectacles of disease, old age, and death; and abandons his princely state for that of a Christian devotee. He converts to the faith his father, his subjects, and even the magician employed to seduce him. For this magician, Theudas, the Buddhist schismatic Devadatta is supposed to have supplied the original; while the name of Josaphat is itself identified by philologists with that of Boddhisattwa, the complete appellation of Buddha.⁴

This curious transfer of the religious teacher of Asia to the Christian Martyrology has an equally curious history. Saint John of Damascus wrote in the 8th century in Greek, and an Arabic translation of his work, belonging to the 11th century, still survives. The story of Josaphat was popular in the Greek Church, and was embodied by Simeon the Metaphrast in the lives of the saints, *circa* 1150 A.D. The Greek form of the name is Ἰωάσαφ.⁵ By the 12th century, the

Buddha as
a Christian
Saint.

Legend of
Saints Bar-
laam and
Josaphat.

Early
stages of
the story.

¹ *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. iv. pp. 177-189, ed. 1875.

² *Contemporary Review*, July 1870.

³ For a list of the authorities, and an investigation of them from the Roman Catholic side, by Emmanuel Cosquin, see *Revue des Questions Historiques*, lvi. pp. 579-600; Paris, October 1880.

⁴ The earlier form of Josaphat was Ioasaph in Greek and Youasaf or Youdasf in Arabic, an evident derivation from the Sanskrit Boddhisattwa, through the Persian form Boudasp (Weber). The name of the magician Theudas is in like manner an accurate philological reproduction of Devadatta or Thevdat.

⁵ See the valuable note in Colonel Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. pp. 302-309 (2nd ed. 1875).]

Life of Barlaam and Josaphat had already reached Western Europe in a Latin form. During the first half of the 13th century, Vincent de Beauvais inserted it in his *Speculum Historiale*; and in the latter half of that century it found a place in the Golden Legend of Jacques de Voragine. Meanwhile, it had also been popularized by the troubadour, Guy de Cambrai. From this double source, the Golden Legend of the Church and the French poem of the people, the story of Barlaam and Josaphat spread throughout Europe. German, Provençal, Italian, Polish, Spanish, English, and Norse versions carried it from the southern extremity of the Continent to Sweden and Iceland.

In 1583, the legend was entered in the Roman Martyrology for the 27th day of November, as we have already seen, upon the alleged testimony of St. John of Damascus. A church in Palermo still (1874) bears the dedication, *Divo Iosaphat*.¹ The Roman Martyrology of Gregory XIII., revised under the auspices of Urban VIII., has a universal acceptance throughout Catholic Christendom; although from the statements of Pope Benedict XIV., and others, it would appear that it is to be used for edification, rather than as a work resting on infallible authority.² However this may be, the text of the two legends, and the names of their prominent actors, place beyond doubt the identity of the Eastern and the Western story.

A Japanese temple; its analogies to Hinduism and Christianity.

It is difficult to enter a Japanese Buddhist temple without being struck by analogies to the Christian ritual on the one hand, and to Hinduism on the other. The chantings of the priests, their bowing as they pass the altar, their vestments, rosaries, bells, incense, and the responses of the worshippers, remind one of the Christian ritual. 'The temple at Rokugo,' writes a recent traveller to a remote town in Japan, 'was very beautiful, and, except that its ornaments were superior in solidity and good taste, differed little from a Romish church. The low altar, on which were lilies and lighted candles, was draped in blue and silver; and on the high altar, draped in crimson and cloth of gold, there was nothing but a closed shrine, an incense-burner, and a vase of lotuses.'³ In a Buddhist temple at Ningpo, the Chinese goddess of mercy,

¹ Yule, *op. cit.* p. 308.

² This aspect of the question is discussed at considerable length by Emmanuel Cosquin, pp. 583-594. He gives the two legends of Buddha and of Barlaam-Josaphat in parallel columns, pp. 590-594 of the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, vol. lvi., already cited.

³ Miss Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. i. p. 295 (ed. 1880).

Kwan-yin, whose resemblance to the Virgin Mary and Child has already been mentioned (p. 150), is seen standing on a serpent, bruising his head with her heel. Serpent ornamentation.

The Hindus, while denouncing Buddha as a heretic, have been constrained to admit him to a place in their mythology. They regard him as the ninth, and hitherto last, incarnation of Vishnu,—the Lying Spirit let loose to deceive men until the tenth or final descent of Vishnu, on the white horse, with a flaming sword like a comet in his hand, for the destruction of the wicked and the renovation of the world. Buddha as an *avatār* of Vishnu.

While on the one hand a vast growth of legends has arisen around Buddha, tending to bring out every episode of his life into strong relief, efforts have been made on the other hand to explain away his personal identity. No date can be assigned with certainty for his existence on this earth. The Northern Buddhists have fourteen different accounts, ranging from 2422 to 546 B.C.¹ The Southern Buddhists agree in starting from the 1st of June 543 B.C. as the day of Buddha's death. This latter date, 543 B.C., is usually accepted by European writers; but Indian chronology, as worked back from inscriptions and coins,² gives the date *circa* 480. Some scholars, indeed, have argued that Buddhism is merely a religious development of the Bráhmancial Sánkhyá philosophy of Kapila (*ante*, p. 99); that Buddha's birth is placed at a purely allegorical site, Kapilavastu, 'the abode of Kapila'; that his mother is called Máýá-deví, in reference to the Máýá doctrine of Kapila's system; and that his own two names are symbolical ones, Siddhartha, 'he who has fulfilled his end,' and Buddha, 'the enlightened.' Buddha's personality denied.

Buddhism and Bráhmánism are unquestionably united by intermediate links. Certain of the sacred texts of the Bráhmans, particularly the Vrihad Aranyaka and the Atharva Upanishad of the Yoga system, teach doctrines which are essentially Buddhistic. According to Wilson and others, Buddha had possibly no personal existence;³ Buddhism Links with Bráhmánism.

¹ Csoma de Kőrös, on the authority of Tibetan MSS., *Tibetan Grammar*, p. 199. A debt long overdue has at length been paid to one of the most single-minded of oriental scholars by the publication of Dr. Theodore Duka's *Life and Works of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*. (Triibner, 1885.)

² General Cunningham works back the date of Buddha's death to 478 B.C., and takes this as his starting-point in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, p. vii. The subject is admirably discussed by Mr. Rhys Davids in the *International Numismata Orientalia* (Ceylon fasciculus), pp. 38-56. He arrives at 412 B.C. as the most probable date. Dr. Oldenberg fixes it at about 480 B.C.

³ Professor H. H. Wilson went so far as to say, 'It seems not impossible

Buddhism was merely the Sāṅkhya philosophy widened into a national religion; and the religious life of the Buddhistic orders was the old Brāhmanical type popularized.¹ The theory is at any rate so far true, that Buddhism was not a sudden invention of any single mind, but a development on a broader basis of a philosophy and religion which preceded it. Such speculations, however, leave out of sight the two great traditional features of Buddhism—namely, the preacher's appeal to the people, and the undying influence of his beautiful life. Senart's still more sceptical theory of Buddha as a Solar Myth, has completely broken down under the critical examination of Oldenberg.

Buddhism did not oust Brāhmanism. Buddhism never ousted Brāhmanism from any large part of India. The two systems co-existed as popular religions from the death of Buddha during thirteen hundred years (543 B.C. to about 800 A.D.), and modern Hinduism is the joint product of both. The legends of Buddha, especially those of the Northern Canon,² bear witness to the active influence of Brāhmanism during the whole period of Buddha's life. After his death, certain kings and certain eras were intensely Buddhistic; but the continuous existence of Brāhmanism is abundantly proved from the time of Alexander (327 B.C.) downwards. The historians who chronicled Alexander's march, and the Greek ambassador Megasthenes, who succeeded them (300 B.C.) in their literary labours, bear witness to the predominance of Brāhmanism in the period immediately preceding Asoka. Inscriptions, local legends, Sanskrit literature, and the drama, disclose the survival of Brāhman influence during the next six centuries (244 B.C. to 400 A.D.). From 400 A.D. we have the evidence of the Chinese pilgrims, who toiled through Central Asia into India to visit the birthplace of their faith.³

'Never did more devoted pilgrims,' writes the greatest living

that Sākya Muni is an unreal being, and that all that is related of him is as much a fiction as is that of his preceding migrations and the miracles that attended his birth, his life, and his departure.' The arguments are dealt with by Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, pp. 284-290, ed. 1878.

¹ Dr. Oldenberg's *Buddha, Sein Leben*, contains valuable evidence on this subject (Hoey's transl. pp. 46, 48 to 59, etc.). See also *The Sāṅkhya Aphorisms of Kapila*, Sanskrit and English, with illustrative texts from the Commentaries by Dr. Ballantyne, formerly Principal of the Benares College, 3rd ed. (Trübner, 1885.)

² See the *Life of the Buddha and the Early History of his Order*, derived from the Tibetan texts, by Mr. Woodville Rockhill of the U. S. Legation in China; also Oldenberg's *Buddha*.

³ The *Si-yu-ki, or Buddhist Records of the Western World*, translated from the Chinese, by Samuel Beal (Trübner, 2 vols. 1884), has completed

student of their lives,¹ 'leave their native country to encounter the perils of travel in foreign and distant lands; never did disciples more ardently desire to gaze on the sacred vestiges of their religion; never did men endure greater sufferings by desert, mountain, and sea, than these simple-minded, earnest Buddhist priests.' Fa-Hian entered India from Afghánistán, and journeyed down the whole Gangetic valley to the Bay of Bengal in 399-413 A.D. He found Bráhma priests equally honoured with Buddhist monks, and temples to the Indian gods side by side with the religious houses of the Buddhist faith.

Buddhism
and Bráhma-
nism,
400 A.D. to
645 A.D.

Fa-Hian,
399 A.D.

Hiuen Tsiang, a still greater pilgrim, also travelled to India from China by the Central Asia route, and has left a fuller record of the state of the two religions in the 7th century. His wanderings extended from 629 to 645 A.D. Everywhere throughout India he found the two systems eagerly competing for the suffrages of the people. By this time, indeed, Bráhmaism was beginning to reassert itself at the expense of the Buddhist religion. The monuments of the great Buddhist monarchs, Asoka and Kanishka, confronted him from the moment he neared the Punjab frontier; but so also did the temples of Siva and his 'dread' queen Bhímá. Throughout North-Western India he found Buddhist convents and monks surrounded by 'swarms of heretics,' *i.e.* Bráhmaical sects.

Hiuen
Tsiang,
629 A.D.

The political power was also divided, though Buddhist sovereigns still predominated. A Buddhist monarch ruled over ten kingdoms in Afghánistán. At Pesháwar, the great monastery built by Kanishka was deserted, but the populace remained faithful. In Kashmir, the king and people were devout Buddhists, under the teaching of 500 monasteries and

and perfected the work begun by Julien and Rémusat. Mr. Beal's new volumes throw a flood of light on the social, religious, and political condition of India from the 5th to 7th centuries A.D. The older authorities are Foe Koue Ki, *ou Relation des Royaumes Bouddhiques; Voyages dans la Tartarie, l'Afghanistan et l'Inde à la fin du iv. siècle*, par Chi-Fa-Hian, translated by A. Rémusat, reviewed by Klaproth and Landresse, 1836. Mr. Beal's *Travels of the Buddhist Pilgrim Fa-Hian*, translated with Notes and Prolegomena, 1869; Julien's *Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, t. i.; *Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen-Tsang et de ses Voyages dans l'Inde*, translated from the Chinese, 1853, t. ii. and iii.; *Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales*, par Hiouen-Tsang, translated from the Chinese, 1857-59. C. J. Neumann's *Pilgerfahrten Buddhistischer Priester von China nach Indien, aus dem Chinesischen übersetzt*, 1883, of which only one volume is published; General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, and his *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India* (various dates).

¹ *Si-yu-ki*, Mr. Beal's Introduction, pp. ix., x.

5000 monks. In the country identified with Jaipur, on the other hand, the inhabitants were devoted to heresy and war.

Buddhism
in India,
629-645
A.D.

Buddhist influence in Northern India seems, during the 7th century A.D., to have centred in the fertile plain between the Jumna and the Ganges, and in Behar. At Kanauj (Kanyakubja), on the Ganges, Hiuen Tsiang found a powerful Buddhist monarch, Śīlāditya, whose influence reached from the Punjab to North-Eastern Bengal, and from the Himālayas to the Narbadā river. Here flourished 100 Buddhist convents and 10,000 monks. But the king's eldest brother had been lately slain by a sovereign of Eastern India, a hater of Buddhism; and 200 temples to the Brāhman gods reared their heads under the protection of the devout Śīlāditya himself.

Council of
Śīlāditya,
634 A.D.

Śīlāditya appears as an Asoka of the 7th century A.D., and he practised with primitive vigour the two great Buddhist virtues of spreading the faith and charity. The former he attempted by means of a general Council in 634 A.D. Twenty-one tributary sovereigns attended, together with the most learned Buddhist monks and Brāhman of their kingdoms. But the object of the convocation was no longer the undisputed assertion of the Buddhist religion. It dealt with the two phases of the religious life of India at that time. First, a discussion between the Buddhists and Brāhman philosophers of the Sāṅkhya and Vaiśeṣika schools; second, a dispute between the Buddhist sects who followed respectively the Northern and the Southern Canons, known as 'the Greater and the Lesser Vehicle of the Law.' The rites of the populace were of as composite a character as the doctrines of their teachers. On the first day of the Council, a statue of Buddha was installed with great pomp; on the second, an image of the Sun-god; on the third, an idol of Siva.

Śīlāditya's
charity.

Śīlāditya held a solemn distribution of his royal treasures every five years. Hiuen Tsiang describes how on the plain near Allahābād, where the Ganges and the Jumna unite their waters, the kings of the Empire, and a multitude of people, were feasted for seventy-five days. Śīlāditya brought forth the stores of his palace, and gave them away to Brāhman and Buddhists, to monks and heretics, without distinction. At the end of the festival, he stripped off his jewels and royal raiment, handed them to the bystanders, and, like Buddha of old, put on the rags of a beggar. By this ceremony, the monarch commemorated the Great Renunciation of the founder of the Buddhist faith. At the same time, he discharged the highest duty inculcated alike by the Buddhist and Brāhmanical religions,

namely almsgiving. The vast monastery of Nalanda¹ formed a seat of learning which recalls the universities of Mediæval Europe. Ten thousand monks and novices of the eighteen Buddhist schools here studied theology, philosophy, law, science, especially medicine, and practised their devotions. They lived in lettered ease, supported from the royal funds. But even this stronghold of Buddhism furnishes a proof that Buddhism was only one of two hostile creeds in India. During the brief period with regard to which the Chinese records afford information, it was three times destroyed by the enemies of the faith.²

Hiuen Tsiang travelled from the Punjab to the mouth of the Ganges, and made journeys into Southern India. But everywhere he found the two religions mingled. Buddh-Gayá, which holds so high a sanctity in the legends of Buddha, had already become a great Bráhmaṇ centre. On the east of Bengal, Assam had not been converted to Buddhism. In the south-west, Orissa was a stronghold of the Buddhist faith. But in the seaport of Tamlúk, at the mouth of the Húgli, the temples to the Bráhmaṇ gods were five times more numerous than the monasteries of the faithful. On the Madras coast, Buddhism flourished; and indeed, throughout Southern India, the faith seems still to have been in the ascendant, although struggling against Bráhmaṇ heretics and their gods.

During the 8th and 9th centuries A.D., Bráhmaṇism became the ruling religion. There are legends of persecutions, instigated by Bráhmaṇ reformers, such as Kumarila Bhatta and Sankara Achárya. But the downfall of Buddhism seems to have resulted from natural decay, and from new movements of religious thought, rather than from any general suppression by the sword. Its extinction is contemporaneous with the rise of Hinduism, and belongs to a subsequent chapter.

In the 11th century, it was chiefly outlying States, like Kashmír and Orissa, that remained faithful. When the Muhammadans come permanently upon the scene, Buddhism as a popular faith has almost disappeared from the interior Provinces of India. Magadha, the cradle of the religion, still continued Buddhist under the Pál Rájás down to the Musalmán conquest of Bakhtiyár Khilji in 1199 A.D.³

¹ Identified with the modern Baragáon, near Gayá. The Great Monastery can be traced by a mass of brick ruins, 1600 feet long by 400 feet deep. General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 468-470, ed. 1871.

² Beal's *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, p. 371, ed. 1871.

³ MS. materials supplied to the author by General Cunningham, to

Monastery
of Nal-
anda.

Mingling
of Buddh-
ism and
Bráhmaṇ-
ism, 629-
645 A. D.

Victory of
Bráhmaṇ-
ism, 700-
900 A. D.

Buddhism
an exiled
religion,
1000 A.D.

During nearly a thousand years, Buddhism has been a banished religion from its native home. But it has won greater triumphs in its exile than it could have ever achieved in the land of its birth. It has created a literature and a religion for nearly half the human race, and has affected the beliefs of the other half. Five hundred millions of men, or forty per cent. of the inhabitants of the world, still acknowledge, with more or less fidelity, the holy teaching of Buddha. Afghánistán, Nepál, Eastern Túrquistán, Tibet, Mongolia, Manchuria, China, Japan, the Eastern Archipelago, Siam, Burma, Ceylon, and India, at one time marked the magnificent circumference of its conquests. Its shrines and monasteries stretched in a continuous line from what are now the confines of the Russian Empire to the equatorial islands of the Pacific. During twenty-four centuries, Buddhism has encountered and outlived a series of powerful rivals. At this day it forms, with Christianity and Islám, one of the three great religions of the world; and the most numerous followed of the three.

Its foreign
conquests.

Buddhist
survivals
in India.

In India its influence has survived its separate existence. The Buddhist period not only left a distinct sect, the Jains; but it supplied the spiritual basis on which Bráhmánism finally developed from the creed of a caste into the religion of the people. A later chapter will show how important and how permanent have been Buddhistic influences on Hinduism. The Buddhists in British India in 1881 numbered nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions, of whom $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions were in British Burma; and 166,892 on the Indian continent, almost entirely in North-Eastern Bengal and Assam. Together with the Jain sect, the Buddhist subjects of the Crown in British India amount to close on four millions (1881).¹ The revival of Buddhism is always a possibility in India. This year (1885) an excellent Buddhist journal has been started in Bengálí, at Chittagong.

The Jains. The Jains number about half a million in British India. Like the Buddhists, they deny the authority of the Veda, except whose Archæological Reports and kind assistance this volume is deeply indebted.

¹ The Buddhists proper were returned in 1881 for British India at 3,418,476; of whom 3,251,584 were in British Burma; 155,809 in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal; and 6563 in Assam. The Jains proper were returned at 448,897 in British India by the Census of 1881. But except in a few spots, chiefly among the spurs of the Himálayas and in Assam and South-Eastern Bengal, the Indian Buddhists may be generally reckoned as Jains.

in so far as it agrees with their own doctrines. They disregard sacrifice ; practise a strict morality ; believe that their past and future states depend upon their own actions rather than on any external deity ; and scrupulously reverence the vital principle in man and beast. They differ from the Buddhists chiefly in their ritual and objects of worship. The veneration of good men departed is common to both, but the Jains have expanded and methodized such adoration on lines of their own.

The Buddhists admit that many Buddhas have appeared in successive lives upon earth, and attained *Nirvána* or beatific extinction ; but they confine their reverence to a comparatively small number. The Jains divide time into successive eras, and assign twenty-four *Jinas*, or just men made perfect, to each.¹ They name twenty-four in the past age, twenty-four in the present, and twenty-four in the era to come ; and place colossal statues of white or black marble to this great company of saints in their temples. They adore above all the two latest, or twenty-third and twenty-fourth *Jinas* of the present era—namely, *Pársvanáth*² and *Mahávíra*. Jain doc-
trines.

The Jains choose wooded mountains and the most lovely retreats of nature for their places of pilgrimage, and cover them with exquisitely-carved shrines in white marble or stucco. *Párasnáth* Hill in Bengal, the temple city of *Pálitána* in *Káthiáwár*, and *Mount Abú*, which rises with its gems of architecture like a jewelled island from the *Rájpútána* plains, form well-known scenes of their worship. The Jains are a wealthy community, usually engaged in banking or wholesale commerce, devoid indeed of the old missionary spirit of Buddhism, but closely knit together among themselves. Their charity is boundless ; and they form the chief supporters of the beast hospitals, which the old Buddhistic tenderness for animals has left in many of the cities of India. Jain
temple
cities.

Jainism is, in its external aspects, Buddhism equipped with a mythology—a mythology, however, not of gods, but of saints. But in its essentials, Jainism forms a survival of beliefs anterior to *Asoka* and *Kanishka*. According to the old view, the Jains are a remnant of the Indian Buddhists who saved themselves from extinction by compromises with Hinduism, and so managed to erect themselves into a recognised caste. Relation
of Jainism
to Buddh-
ism.

¹ Under such titles as *Jagata-prabhu*, 'lord of the world ;' *Kṣhīnakarmá*, 'freed from ceremonial acts ;' *Sarvajña*, 'all-knowing ;' *Adhīswara*, 'supreme lord ;' *Tirthankara*, 'he who has crossed over the world ;' and *Jina*, 'he who has conquered the human passions.'

² Popularly rendered *Párasnáth*.

Jains
earlier
than
Buddhists?

According to the later and truer view, they represent in an unbroken succession the Nigantha sect of the Asoka edicts. The Jains themselves claim as their founder, Mahāvīra, the teacher or contemporary of Buddha; and the Niganthas appear as a sect independent of, indeed opposed to, the Buddhists in the Rock Inscriptions of Asoka and in the Southern Canon (*pitakas*).

Mahāvīra, who bore also the spiritual name of Vardhamāna, 'The Increaser,' is the 24th Jina or 'Conqueror of the Passions,' adored in the present age of Jain chronology. Like Buddha, he was of princely birth, and lived and laboured in the same country and at the same time as Buddha. According to the southern Buddhistic dates, Buddha 'attained rest' 543 B.C., and Mahāvīra in 526 B.C. According to the Jain texts, Mahāvīra was the predecessor and teacher of Buddha.

Antiquity
of the
Jains.

A theory has accordingly been advanced that the Buddhism of Asoka (244 B.C.) was in reality a later product than the Nigantha or Jain doctrines.¹ The Jains are divided into the Svetāmbaras, 'The White Robed,' and the Digambaras, 'The Naked.' The Tibetan texts make it clear that sects closely analogous to the Jains existed in the time of Buddha, and that they were antecedent and rival orders to that which Buddha established.² Even the Southern Buddhist Canon preserves recollections of a struggle between a naked sect like the Jain Digambaras, and the decently robed Buddhists.³ This Digambara or Nigantha sect (Nirgrantha, 'those who have cast aside every tie') was very distinctly recognised by Asoka's edicts; and both the Svetāmbara and Digambara orders of the modern Jains find mention in the early copper-plate inscriptions of Mysore, *circa* 5th or 6th century A.D. The Jains in our own day feel strongly on this subject, and the head of the community at Ahmadābād has placed many arguments before the writer of the present work to prove that their faith was anterior to Buddhism.

Until quite recently, however, European scholars did not admit the pretensions of the Jains to pre-Buddhistic antiquity.

¹ This subject was discussed in Mr. Edward Thomas' *Jainism, or the Early Faith of Asoka*; in Mr. Rhys Davids' article in *The Academy* of 13th September 1879; in his *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 27; and in the *Numismata Orientalia* (Ceylon fasciculus), pp. 55, 60.

² Mr. Woodville Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, from the Bkah-Hgyur and Bstan-Hgyur in *variis locis*. 1884.

³ See for example the curious story of the devout Buddhist bride from the Burmese sacred books, in Bishop Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, pp. 257-259, vol. i. ed. 1882.

H. H. Wilson questioned their importance at any period earlier than twelve centuries ago.¹ Weber regarded 'the Jains as merely one of the oldest sects of Buddhism;' and Lassen believed that they had branched off from the Buddhists.² M. Barth, after a careful discussion of the evidence, still thought that we must regard the Jains 'as a sect which took its rise in Buddhism.'³ On the other hand, Oldenberg, who brings the latest light from the Páli texts to bear on the question, accepts the identity of the Jain sect with the Niganthas 'into whose midst the younger brotherhood of Buddha entered.'⁴

The learned Jacobi has now investigated this question from the Jain texts themselves.⁵ Oldenberg had proved, out of the Buddhist scriptures, that Buddhism was a true product of Bráhmaṇ doctrine and discipline. Jacobi shows that both 'Buddhism and Jainism must be regarded as religions developed out of Bráhmaṇism not by a sudden reformation, but prepared by a religious movement going on for a long time.'⁶ And he brings forward evidence for believing that Jainism was the earlier outgrowth; that it was probably founded by Pársvanáth, now revered as the 23rd Jina; and merely reformed by Mahávira, the contemporary of Buddha.⁷ The outfit of the Jain monk, his alms-bowl, rope, and water vessel, was practically the equipment of the previous Bráhmaṇ ascetic.⁸ In doctrine, the Jains accepted the Bráhmaṇ pantheistic philosophy of the *Ātmán*, or Universal Soul. They believed that not only animals and plants, but the elements themselves, earth, fire, water, and wind, were endowed with souls. Buddha made a further divergence. He combated the Bráhmaṇ doctrine of the Universal Soul; and the Jain dogma, of the elements and

Jacobi's investigation of the question.

Jainism older than Buddhism.

¹ *Essays and Lectures on the Religion of the Hindus*, by H. H. Wilson. Dr. Reinhold Rost's edition, p. 329, vol. i. (1862).

² Weber's *Indische Studien*, xvi. 210, and Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, iv. 763 *et seq.*

³ Barth's *Religions of India*, ed. 1882, p. 151; also Barth's *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, iii. 90.

⁴ *Buddha, his Life, his Doctrine, his Order*, by Prof. Hermann Oldenberg. Hoey's translation (1882), p. 67. See also his pp. 66 and (foot-note) 77, and 175.

⁵ *Jaina Sūtras*, Part I., the Achárāṅga Sūtra, and the Kalpa Sūtra, by Hermann Jacobi, forming vol. xxii. of Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East*. Clarendon Press, 1884.

⁶ Jacobi, *op. cit.* Introduction, xxxii.

⁷ *Op. cit.* xxxiv.

⁸ For slight differences, see Jacobi, xxviii.
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minerals being endowed with souls, finds no place in Buddhist philosophy.¹

Date of
the Jain
Scriptures.

Jacobi believes that the Jain texts were composed or collected at the end of the 4th century B.C.; that the origin of the extant Jain literature cannot be placed earlier than about 300 B.C.; and that their sacred books were reduced to writing in the 5th century A.D.² He thinks that the two existing divisions of the Jains, the Svetambaras and the Digambaras, separated from each other about two or three hundred years after the death of the Founder; but 'that the development of the Jain church has not been at any time violently interrupted.'

Jains an
independ-
ent sect.

That, 'in fact, we can follow this development from its true beginning through its various stages, and that Jainism is as much independent from other sects, especially from Buddhism, as can be expected from any sect.'³

Modern
Jainism.

In its superficial aspects, modern Jainism may be described as a religion allied in doctrine to ancient Indian Buddhism, but humanized by saint-worship, and narrowed from a national religion to the exclusive requirements of a sect.

Survivals
of Buddh-
ism in
India.

The noblest survivals of Buddhism in India are to be found, however, not among any peculiar body, but in the religion of the people; in that principle of the brotherhood of man, with the re-assertion of which each new revival of Hinduism starts; in the asylum which the great Vaishnav sect affords to women who have fallen victims to caste rules, to the widow and the outcast; in that gentleness and charity to all men, which take the place of a poor-law in India, and give a high significance to the half-satirical epithet of the 'mild' Hindu.

¹*Op. cit.* xxxiii.

² Jacobi, *op. cit.* xxxv. and xlii.

³ *Op. cit.* xlv.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GREEKS IN INDIA (327 TO 161 B.C.).

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY have been the great contributions of India to the world. We now come to deal with India, not as a centre of influence upon other nations, but as acted on by them.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF INDIA commences with the Greek invasion in 327 B.C. Some indirect trade between India and the Mediterranean seems to have existed from very ancient times. Homer was acquainted with tin,¹ and other articles of Indian merchandise, by their Sanskrit names; and a list has been made of Indian products mentioned in the Bible.² The ship captains of Solomon and Hiram not only brought Indian apes, peacocks, and sandal-wood to Palestine; they also brought their Sanskrit names.³ This was about 1000 B.C. The Assyrian monuments show that the rhinoceros and elephant were among the tribute offered to Shalmaneser II. (859-823 B.C.).⁴ But the first Greek historian who speaks clearly of India is Hekataios of Miletos (549-486 B.C.); the knowledge of Herodotos (450 B.C.) ended at the Indus; and Ktesias, the physician (401 B.C.), brought back from his residence in Persia only a few facts about the products of India, its dyes and fabrics, monkeys and parrots. India to the east of the Indus was first made known to Europe by the historians and men of science who accompanied Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. Their narratives, although now lost, furnished materials to Strabo, Pliny, and Arrian. Soon afterwards, Megasthenes, as Greek

External sources of the history of India.

Early Greek writers, 549-401 B.C.

Megasthenes, 306-298 B.C.

¹ Greek, Kassiteros; Sanskrit, Kastira; hence, the Kassiteides, the Tin or Scilly Islands. Elephas, ivory, through the Arabian *eleph* (from Arabic *e'*, the, and Sanskrit *ibha*, domestic elephant), is also cited.

² Sir G. Birdwood's *Handbook to the British Indian Section of the Paris Exhibition of 1878*, pp. 22-35. For economic intercourse with ancient India, see Del Mar's *History of Money in Ancient Countries*, chaps. iv. and v. (1885).

³ Hebrew, Kophim, tukijim, almugim = Sanskrit, *kapi*, *sikhī*, *valgukam*.

⁴ Professor Max Duncker's *Ancient History of India*, p. 13 (ed. 1881).

ambassador resident at a court in the centre of Bengal (306-298 B.C.), had opportunities for the closest observation. The knowledge of the Greeks concerning India practically dates from his researches, 300 B.C.¹

Alexander's expedition, 327-325 B.C.

Alexander the Great entered India early in 327 B.C.; crossed the Indus above Attock, and advanced, without a struggle, over the intervening territory of the Taxiles² to the Jehlam (Jhelum) (Hydaspes). He found the Punjab divided into petty kingdoms jealous of each other, and many of them inclined to join an invader rather than to oppose him. One of these local monarchs, Porus, disputed the passage of the Jehlam with a force which, substituting chariots for guns, about equalled the army of Ranjít Singh, the ruler of the Punjab in the present century.³ Plutarch gives a vivid description of the battle from Alexander's own letters. Having drawn up his troops at a bend of the Jehlam, about 14 miles west of the modern field of Chilianwála,⁴ the Greek general crossed under cover of a tempestuous night. The chariots hurried out by Porus stuck in the muddy margin of the river. In the engagement which followed, the elephants of the Indian prince refused to face the

¹ The fragments of the Indika of Megasthenes, collected by Dr. Schwanbeck, with the first part of the Indika of Arrian; the Periplus Maris Erythræi, with Arrian's account of the voyage of Nearkhos; the Indika of Ktesias; and Ptolemy's chapters relating to India, have been edited in four volumes with prolegomena by Mr. J. W. M'Crindle, M.A. (Trübner, 1877, 1879, 1882, and 1885). They originally appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, to which this volume and the whole *Imperial Gazetteer of India* are much indebted. General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, with its maps, and his *Reports of the Archaeological Survey*, Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients* (2 vols. 4to, 1807), and the series of maps, on an unfortunately small scale, in General-Lieutenant von Spruner's *Historisch-Geographischen Atlas* (Gotha), have also been freely availed of.

² The Takkas, a Turanian race, the earliest inhabitants of RAWAL PINDI DISTRICT. They gave their name to the town of Takshásila or Taxila, which Alexander found 'a rich and populous city, the largest between the Indus and Hydaspes,' identified with the ruins of DERI SHAHAN. Taki or Asarúr, on the road between Lahore and Pindi Bhatiyán, was the capital of the Punjab in 633 A.D. When names are put in capitals, the object is to refer the reader to the fuller information given in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

³ Namely, '30,000 efficient infantry; 4000 horse; 300 chariots; 200 elephants' [Professor Cowell]. The Greeks probably exaggerated the numbers of the enemy. Alexander's army numbered 'about 50,000, including 5000 Indian auxiliaries under Mophis of Taxila.'—General Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 172. See his lucid account of the battle, with an excellent map, pp. 159-177, ed. 1871.

⁴ And about 30 miles south-west of Jehlam town.

Greeks, and, wheeling round, trampled his own army under foot. His son fell early in the onset; Porus himself fled wounded; but on tendering his submission, he was confirmed in his kingdom, and became the conqueror's trusted friend. Alexander built two memorial cities on the scene of his victory,—Bucephala on the west bank, near the modern JALALPUR, named after his beloved charger, Bucephalus, slain in the battle; and Nikaia, the present MONG, on the east side of the river.

Alexander advanced south-east through the kingdom of the younger Porus to Amritsar, and after a sharp bend backward to the west, to fight the Kathaei at Sangala, he reached the Beas (Hyphasis). Here, at a spot not far from the modern battle-field of Sobráon, he halted his victorious standards.¹ He had resolved to march to the Ganges; but his troops were worn out by the heats of the Punjab summer, and their spirits broken by the hurricanes of the south-west monsoon. The native tribes had already risen in his rear, and the Conqueror of the World was forced to turn back, before he had crossed even the frontier Province of India. The Sutlej, the eastern Districts of the Punjab, and the mighty Jumna, still lay between him and the Ganges. A single defeat might have been fatal to his army; if the battle on the Jehlam had gone against him, not a Greek would probably have reached the Afghán side of the passes. Yielding at length to the clamour of his men, he led them back to the Jehlam. He there embarked 8000 of his troops in boats previously prepared, and floated them down the river; the remainder marched in two divisions along the banks.

The country was hostile, and the Greeks held only the land on which they encamped. At Múltán, then as now the capital of the Southern Punjab, Alexander had to fight a pitched battle with the Malli, and was severely wounded in taking the city. His enraged troops put every soul within it to the sword. Farther down, near the confluence of the five rivers of the Punjab, he made a long halt, built a town,—Alexandria, the modern Uchh,—and received the submission of the neighbouring States. A Greek garrison and Satrap, whom he here left behind, laid the foundation of a more lasting influence. Having constructed a new fleet, suitable for the greater rivers on which he was now to embark, he proceeded southwards through Sind, and followed the course of the Indus until he reached

Alexander
in the
Punjab,
327-326
B.C.

Alexander
in Sind,
325 B.C.

¹ The change in the course of the Sutlej has altered its old position relative to the Beas at this point. The best small map of Alexander's route is No. v. in General Cunningham's *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 104, ed. 1871.

the ocean. In the apex of the delta he founded or refounded a city—Patala—which survives to this day as Haidarābād, the native capital of Sind.¹ At the mouth of the Indus, Alexander beheld for the first time the majestic phenomenon of the tides. One part of his army he shipped off under the command of Nearkhos to coast along the Persian Gulf; the other he himself led through Southern Baluchistān and Persia to Susa, where, after terrible losses from want of water and famine on the march, he arrived in 325 B.C.²

Leaves
India,
August
325 B.C.

Results of
Greek ex-
pedition,
327–325
B.C.

During his two years' campaign in the Punjab and Sind, Alexander captured no province, but he made alliances, founded cities, and planted Greek garrisons. He had transferred much territory from the tribes whom he had half-subdued, to the chiefs and confederations who were devoted to his cause. Every petty court had its Greek faction; and the detachments which he left behind at various positions from the Afghān frontier to the Beas, and from near the base of the Himālayas to the Sind delta, were visible pledges of his return. At Taxila (DERI-SHAHAN) and Nikaia (MONG) in the Northern Punjab; at Alexandria (UCHH) in the Southern Punjab; at Patala (HAIDARABAD) in Sind; and at other points along his route, he established military settlements of Greeks or their allies. A body of his troops remained in Bactria. In the partition of the Empire after Alexander's death in 323 B.C., Bactria and India eventually fell to Seleukos Nikator, the founder of the Syrian monarchy.

Seleukos,
323–312
B.C.

Chandra
Gupta,
326 B.C.;

Meanwhile, a new power had arisen in India. Among the Indian adventurers who thronged Alexander's camp in the Punjab, each with his plot for winning a kingdom or crushing a rival, Chandra Gupta, an exile from the Gangetic valley, seems to have played a somewhat ignominious part. He tried to tempt the wearied Greeks on the banks of the Beas with

¹ For its interesting appearances in ancient history, see General Cunningham's *Anc. Geog. of India*, pp. 279–287, under Patala or Nirankot. It appears variously as Pattala, Pattalene, Pitasila, etc. It was formerly identified with Tatta (Thatha), near to where the western arm of the Indus bifurcates. See also M'Crimble's *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 156 (Trübner, 1879). An excellent map of Alexander's campaign in Sind is given at p. 248 of Cunningham's *Anc. Geog. of India*.

² The stages down the Indus and along the Persian coast, with the geographical features and incidents of Nearkhos' *Voyage*, are given in the second part of the Indika of Arrian, chapter xviii. to the end. The river stages and details are of value to the student of the modern delta of the Indus.—M'Crimble's *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 153–224 (1879).

schemes of conquest in the rich south-eastern Provinces; but having personally offended Alexander, he had to fly the camp (326 B.C.). In the confused years which followed, he managed, with the aid of plundering hordes, to found a kingdom on the ruins of the Nanda dynasty in Magadha, or Behar (316 ^{316 B.C.} B.C.).¹ He seized their capital, Pataliputra, the modern Patná; established himself firmly in the Gangetic valley, and compelled the Punjab principalities, Greek and native alike, to acknowledge his suzerainty.² While, therefore, Seleukos Nikator was winning his way to the Syrian monarchy during the eleven years which followed Alexander's death, Chandra Gupta was building up an empire in Northern India. Seleukos reigned in Syria from 312 to 280 B.C.; Chandra Gupta in the ^{312 B.C.} Gangetic valley from 316 to 292 B.C. In 312 B.C., the power of both had been consolidated, and the two new sovereignties were soon brought face to face.

About that year, Seleukos, having recovered Babylon, pro- ^{Selenkos in India, 312-306 B.C.} ceeded to re-establish his authority in Bactria and the Punjab. In the Punjab, he found Greek influence decayed. Alexander had left a mixed force of Greeks and Indians at Taxila. But no sooner had he departed from India, than the Indians rose and slew the Greek governor. The Macedonians next massacred the Indians. A new governor, sent by Alexander, murdered the friendly Punjab prince, Porus; and was himself driven out of India, by the advance of Chandra Gupta from the Gangetic valley. Seleukos, after a war with Chandra Gupta, determined to ally himself with the new power in India rather than to oppose it. In return for 500 elephants, he ceded the Greek settlements in the Punjab and the Kábul valley; gave his daughter to Chandra Gupta in marriage; and stationed an ambassador, Megasthenes, at the Gangetic court (306-298 ^{306-298 B.C.} B.C.). Chandra Gupta became familiar to the Greeks as Sandrokottos, King of the Prasii and Gangaridae; his capital, Pataliputra,³ or Patná, was rendered into Palimbothra. On the other hand, the Greeks and kings of Grecian dynasties appear in the rock-inscriptions under Indian forms.⁴

¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, i. 7. Jacobi's *Jaina Sūtras*, xliii.

² For the dynasty of Chandra Gupta, see *Numismata Orientalia* (Ceylon fasciculus), pp. 41-50.

³ The modern Patná, or Pattana, means simply 'the city.' For its identification with Pataliputra by means of Mr. Ravenshaw's final discoveries, see General Cunningham's *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 452 *et seq.*

⁴ The Greeks as Yonas (Yavanas), from the *Ἰᾶνες* or Ionians. In the Inscriptions of Asoka, five Greek princes appear: Antiochus (of Syria); Ptolemy (Philadelphos of Egypt); Antigonos (Gonatos of Macedon);

The India
of Megas-
thenes,
300 B.C.

Megasthenes has left a lifelike picture of the Indian people. Notwithstanding some striking errors, the observations which he jotted down at Patná, three hundred years before Christ, give as accurate an account of the social organization in the Gangetic valley as any which existed when the Bengal Asiatic Society commenced its labours at the end of the last century (1784). Up to the time of Megasthenes, the Greek idea of India was a very vague one. Their historians spoke of two classes of Indians,—certain mountainous tribes who dwelt in Northern Afghánistán under the Caucasus or Hindu Kush, and a maritime race living on the coast of Baluchistán. Of the India of modern geography lying beyond the Indus, they practically knew nothing. It was this India to the east of the Indus which Megasthenes opened up to the western world.

His seven
classes
of the
people.

He describes the classification of the people, dividing them, however, into seven castes instead of four,¹—namely, philosophers, husbandmen, shepherds, artisans, soldiers, inspectors, and the counsellors of the king. The philosophers were the Bráhmans, and the prescribed stages of their life are indicated. Megasthenes draws a distinction between the Bráhmans (*Βραχμᾶνες*) and the Sarmanai (*Σαρμάναι*), from which some scholars infer that the Buddhist Sramanas or monks were a recognised order 300 B.C., or fifty years before the Council of Asoka. But the Sarmanai might also include Bráhmans in the first and third stages of their life as students and forest recluses.² The inspectors,³ or sixth class of Megasthenes, have been identified with the Buddhist supervisors of morals, afterwards referred to in the sixth edict of Asoka. Arrian's name for them, *ἐπίσκοποι*, is the Greek word which has become our modern Bishop or *overseer* of souls.

'Errors' of
Megas-
thenes.

It must be borne in mind that Indian society, as seen by Megasthenes, was not the artificial structure described in Manu, with its rigid lines and four sharply demarcated castes. It was the actual society of the court, the camp, and the capital, at a time when Buddhist ideals were conflicting with Bráhmanical types. Some of the so-called errors of Megas-

Magas (of Kyrene); Alexander (II. of Epirus).—Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, pp. 179, 252. But see also Wilson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. xii. (1850), and Cunningham's *Corpus Inscript. Indic.*, pp. 125, 126.

¹ *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, being fragments of the Indika*, by J. W. M'Crinde, M.A., p. 40, ed. 1877.

² Brahmachárin and Vánaprasthas (*βλάβιν*). Weber very properly declines to identify the *Σαρμάναι* exclusively with the Buddhist Sramanas. *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 28, ed. 1878.

³ The *ἱσσοποι* (Deodorus, Strabo), *ἐπίσκοποι* (Arrian).

thenes have been imputed to him from a want of due appreciation of this fact. Others have been proved by modern inquiry to be no errors at all. The knowledge of India derived by the Greeks chiefly, although by no means exclusively, from Megasthenes includes details which were scarcely known to Europeans in the last century. The Aryan and Aboriginal elements of the population, or the White and Dark Indians; the two great harvests of the year in spring and autumn; the salt-mines; the land-making silt brought down by the rivers from the Himálayas; the great changes in the river-courses; and even a fairly accurate measurement of the Indian peninsula—were among the points known to the Greek writers.

From those sources, the present writer has derived pregnant hints in regard to the physical configuration of India. The account which Megasthenes gives of the size of the Indus and its lakes, points to the same conclusion as that reached by the most recent observations, in regard to the Indian rivers being originally lines of drainage through great watery regions. In their upper courses they gradually scooped out their beds, and thus produced a low-level channel into which the fens and marshes eventually drained. In their lower courses they conducted their great operations of land-making from the silt which their currents had brought down from above. In regard to the rivers, as in several other matters, the 'exaggerations' of Megasthenes turn out to be nearer the truth than was suspected until the Statistical Survey of 1871.

The Bráhmans deeply impressed Alexander by their learning and austerities. One of them, Kalanos by name, was tempted, notwithstanding the reproaches of his brethren, to enter the service of the conqueror. But falling sick in Persia, Kalanos determined to die like a Bráhman, although he had not consistently lived as one. Alexander, on hearing of the philosopher's resolve to put an end to his life, vainly tried to dissuade him; then loaded him with jewels, and directed that he should be attended with all honours to the last scene. Distributing the costly gifts of his master as he advanced, wearing a garland of flowers, and singing his native Indian hymns, the Bráhman mounted a funeral pyre, and serenely perished in the flames.

The Greek ambassador observed with admiration the absence of slavery in India, the chastity of the women, and the courage of the men. In valour they excelled all other Asiatics; they required no locks to their doors; above all, no Indian was ever known to tell a lie. Sober and industrious, good farmers, and skilful artisans, they scarcely ever had recourse to a law-

The old
Indian
rivers.

Kalanos,
the Bráh-
man.

323 B.C.

Indian
society,
300 B.C.

Petty
kingdoms.

suit, and lived peaceably under their native chiefs. The kingly government is portrayed almost as described in Manu, with its hereditary castes of councillors and soldiers. Megasthenes mentions that India was divided into 118 kingdoms; some of which, such as that of the Prasii under Chandra Gupta, exercised suzerain powers. The village system is well described, each little rural unit seeming to the Greek an independent republic. Megasthenes remarked the exemption of the husbandmen (Vaisyas) from war and public services; and enumerates the dyes, fibres, fabrics, and products (animal, vegetable, and mineral) of India. Husbandry depended on the periodical rains; and forecasts of the weather, with a view to 'make adequate provision against a coming deficiency,' formed a special duty of the Bráhmans. 'The philosopher who errs in his predictions observes silence for the rest of his life.'

Indo-
Greek
treaty,
256 B.C.

Before the year 300 B.C., two powerful monarchies had thus begun to act upon the Bráhmanism of Northern India, from the east and from the west. On the east, in the Gangetic valley, Chandra Gupta (316-292 B.C.) firmly consolidated the dynasty which during the next century produced Asoka (264-223 B.C.), established Buddhism throughout India, and spread its doctrines from Afghánistán to China, and from Central Asia to Ceylon. On the west, the heritage of Seleukos (312-280 B.C.) diffused Greek influences, and sent forth Greco-Bactrian expeditions to the Punjab. Antiochos Theos (grandson of Seleukos Nikator) and Asoka (grandson of Chandra Gupta), who ruled these probably conterminous monarchies, made a treaty with each other, 256 B.C. In the next century, Eukratides, King of Bactria, conquered as far as Alexander's royal city of Patala, the modern Haidarábád in the Sind Delta; and sent expeditions into Cutch and Gujarát, 181-161 B.C. Menander advanced farthest into North-Western India, and his coins are found from Kábul, near which he probably had his capital, as far as Muttra on the Jumna. The Buddhist successors of Chandra Gupta profoundly modified the religion of Northern India from the east; the empire of Seleukos, with its Bactrian and later offshoots, deeply influenced the science and art of Hindustán from the west.

Greeks in
India,
181-161
B.C.

Greek in-
fluence on
Indian art.

We have already seen how much Bráhman astronomy owed to the Greeks, and how the builders' art in India received its first impulse from the architectural exigencies of Buddhism. The same double influence, of the Greeks on the west and of the Buddhists on the east of the Bráhmanical Middle Land of

Bengal, can be traced in many details. What the Buddhists were to the architecture of Northern India, that the Greeks were to its sculpture. Greek faces and profiles constantly occur in ancient Buddhist statuary. They enrich almost all the larger museums in India, and examples may be seen at South Kensington. The purest specimens have been found in the Punjab, where the Greeks settled in greatest force. In the Lahore collection there was, among other beautiful pieces, an exquisite little figure of an old blind man feeling his way with a staff. Its subdued pathos, its fidelity to nature, and its living movement dramatically held for the moment in sculptured suspense, are Greek, and nothing but Greek. It is human misfortune, that has culminated in wandering poverty, age, and blindness—the very curse which Sophocles makes the spurned Teiresias throw back upon the doomed king—

‘Blind, having seen ;
Poor, having rolled in wealth ; he with a staff
Feeling his way to a strange land shall go.’

As we proceed eastward from the Punjab, the Greek type Greek and
Hindu
types of
sculpture. begins to fade. Purity of outline gives place to lusciousness of form. In the female figures, the artists trust more and more to swelling breasts and towering chignons, and load the neck with constantly-accumulating jewels. Nevertheless, the Grecian type of countenance long survived in Indian art. It is perfectly unlike the coarse, conventional ideal of beauty in modern Hindu sculptures, and may perhaps be traced as late as the delicate profiles on the so-called Sun Temple at KANARAK, built in the 12th century A.D. on the Orissa shore.

Not only did the Greek impulse become fainter and fainter Greek
types die
out. in Indian sculpture with the lapse of time, but that impulse was itself gradually derived from less pure and less vigorous sources. The Greek ideal of beauty may possibly have been brought direct to India by the officers and artists of Alexander the Great. But it was from Græco-Bactria, not from Greece itself, that the practical masters of Greek sculpture came to the Punjab. Indeed, it seems probable that the most prolific stream of such artistic inspirations reached India from the Roman Empire, and in Imperial times, rather than through even the indirect Grecian channels represented by the Bactrian kingdom.

It must suffice here to indicate the ethnical and dynastic influences thus brought to bear upon India, without attempting to assign dates to the individual monarchs. The Foreign
influences
on India. chronology of the twelve centuries intervening between the

Græco-Bactrian period and the Muhammadan conquest still depends on a mass of conflicting evidence derived from inscriptions, legendary literature, unwritten traditions, and coins.¹ Four systems of computation exist, based upon the Vikramāditya, Saka, Seleucidan, and Parthian eras.

In the midst of the confusion, we see dim masses moving southwards from Central Asia into India. The Græco-Bactrian kings are traced by coins as far as Muttra on the Jumna. Their armies occupied for a time the Punjab, as far south as Gujarāt and Sind. Sanskrit texts are said to indicate their advance through the Middle Land of the Brāhmans (*Madhya-desha*) to Sāketa (or AJODHYA), the capital of Oudh, and to Patnā in Behar.² Megasthenes was only the first of a series of Greek ambassadors to Bengal.³ A Grecian princess became the queen of Chandra Gupta at Patnā (*circa* 306 B.C.). Græco-Bactrian girls, or Yavanis, were welcome gifts, and figure in the Sanskrit drama as the personal attendants of Indian kings. They were probably fair-complexioned slaves from the northern regions. It is right to add, however, that the word Yavan has a much wider application than merely to the Greeks or even to the Bactrians. The credentials of the Indian embassy to Augustus in 22-20 B.C. were written on skins; a circumstance which perhaps indicates the extent to which Greek usage had overcome Brāhmanical prejudices. During the century preceding the Christian era, Scythian or Tartar hordes began to supplant the Græco-Bactrian influence in the Punjab.

The term Yavana, or Yona, formerly applied to any non-Brāhmanical race, and especially to the Greeks, was now extended to the Sakæ or Scythians. It probably includes many various tribes of invaders from the west. Patient effort will be required before the successive changes in the meaning of Yavana, both before and after the Greek period, are worked

¹ Report of the *Archæological Survey of Western India for 1874-75*, p. 49 (Mr. E. Thomas' monograph).

² Goldstucker assigned the Yavana siege of Saketa (AJODHYA), mentioned in the Mahābhāshya, to Menander; while the accounts of the Gārgī Sanhitā in the Yuga Purāna speak of a Yavana expedition as far as Patnā. But, as Weber points out (*Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 251, footnote 276), the question arises as to whether these Yavanas were Græco-Bactrians or Indo-Scythians. See, however, *Report of Archæological Survey of Western India for 1874-75*, p. 49, and footnote.

³ Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 251 (ed. 1878), enumerates four.

out. The word travelled far, and has survived with a strange vitality in out of the way nooks of India. The Orissa chroniclers called the sea-invaders from the Bay of Bengal, Yavanas, and in later times the term was applied to the Musalmáns.¹ At the present day, a vernacular form of the word is said to have supplied the local name for the Arab settlers on the Coromandel coast.²

¹ Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. i. pp. 25, 85, and 209 to 232 (ed. 1872).

² Bishop Caldwell gives Yavanas (Yonas) as the equivalent of the Sonagas or Muhammadans of the western coast: *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 2nd edition, p. 2 (Trübner, 1875).

CHAPTER VII.

SCYTHIC INROADS INTO INDIA (126? B.C. TO 544 A.D.).

Migrations from Central Asia ;

Aryan,

and Turanian.

THE foregoing chapters have dealt with two streams of population which, starting from Central Asia, poured through the north-western passes of the Himálayas, and spread themselves out upon the plains of Bengal. Those two great series of migrations are represented by the early Vedic tribes, and by the Græco-Bactrian armies. The first of them gave the race-type to Indian civilisation ; the second impressed an influence on Indian science and art, more important and more permanent than the mere numerical strength of the invaders would seem to justify. But the permanent settlement of the early Vedic tribes, and the shorter vehement impact of the Græco-Bactrian invaders, alike represent movements of the Aryan section of the human race. Another great family of mankind, the Turanian, had also its home in Central Asia. The earliest migrations of the Turanians belong to a period absolutely pre-historic ; nor has inductive history yet applied its scrutiny to Turanian antiquity with anything like the success which it has achieved in regard to the beginnings of the Aryan peoples.

Scythic movements towards India.

Yet there is evidence to show that waves of Turanian origin overtopped the Himálayas or pierced through their openings into India from very remote times. The immigrants doubtless represented many different tribes, but in the dim twilight of Indian history they are mingled together in confused masses known as the Scythians. There are indications that a branch of the Scythian hordes, who overran Asia about 625 B.C., made its way to Patala on the Indus, the site selected by Alexander in 325 B.C. as his place of arms in that delta, and long the capital of Sind under the name of Haidarábád. One portion of these Patala Scythians seems to have moved westwards by the Persian Gulf to Assyria ; another section is supposed to have found its way north-east into the Gangetic valley, and to have branched off into the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, among whom Buddha

was born.¹ During the two hundred years before the Christian era, the Scythic movements come a little more clearly into sight, and in the first century after Christ those movements culminate in a great Indian sovereignty. About 126 B.C., the Tartar tribe of Su are said to have conquered the Greek dynasty in Bactria, and the Græco-Bactrian settlements in the Punjab were overthrown by the Tue-Chi.² Tue-Chi settlements
126 B.C. (?)

Two centuries later, we touch solid ground in the dynasty Kanishka, whose chief representative, Kanishka, held the Fourth Buddhist Council, *circa* 40 A.D., and became the royal founder of Northern Buddhism. But long anterior to the alleged Tue-Chi settlements in the Punjab, tribes of Scythic origin had found their way into India, and had left traces of non-Aryan origin upon Indian civilisation. The sovereignty of Kanishka in the first century A.D. was not an isolated effort, but the ripened fruit of a series of ethnical movements. 40 A.D. (?)

Certain scholars believe that even before the time of Buddha, there are relics of Scythic origin in the religion of India. It has been suggested that the *Aswamedha*, or Great Horse Sacrifice, in some of its developments at any rate, was based upon Scythic ideas. 'It was in effect,' writes Mr. Edward Thomas, 'a martial challenge, which consisted in letting the victim who was to crown the imperial triumph at the year's end, go free to wander at will over the face of the earth; its sponsor being bound to follow its hoofs, and to conquer or conciliate' the chiefs through whose territories it passed. Such a prototype seems to him to shadow forth the life of the Central Asian communities of the horseman class, 'among whom a captured steed had so frequently to be traced from camp to camp, and surrendered or fought for at last.'³ The curious connection between the Horse Sacrifice and the Man Sacrifice of the pre-Buddhistic religion of India has often been noticed. That connection has been explained from the Indian point of view, by the substitution theory of a horse for a human victim. But among the early shepherd tribes of Tibet, the two sacrifices coexisted as inseparable parts of The Great Pre-Buddhistic
Scythic influences.
The Horse Sacrifice.

¹ *Catena of the Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, by S. Beal, pp. 126-130. See also Herodotus, i. 103 to 106; Csoma de Körös, *Journal As. Soc. Beng.* 1833; and H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 212, quoted by Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.* p. 285, ed. 1878.

² De Guignes, supported by Professor Cowell on the evidence of coins. Appendix to Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 269, ed. 1866.

³ *Report of Archaeological Survey of Western India*, pp. 37, 38 (1876). But see, in opposition to Mr. Thomas' view, M. Senart in the *French Journ. Asiatique*, 1875, p. 126.

Oath. Each year the Tibetans took The Little Oath to their chiefs, and sacrificed sheep, dogs, and monkeys. But every third year they solemnized The Great Oath with offerings of men and horses, oxen and asses.¹

Buddha, a Scythian(?) Whatever significance may attach to this rite, it is certain that with the advent of Buddhism, Scythic influences made themselves felt in India. Indeed, it has been attempted to establish a Scythic origin for Buddha himself. One of his earliest appearances in the literature of the Christian Church is as Buddha the Scythian. It is argued that by no mere accident did the Fathers trace the Manichæan doctrine to Scythianus, whose disciple, Terebinthus, took the name of Buddha.² As already stated, the form of abjuration of the Manichæan heresy mentions Βόδδα and Σκυθιανός (Buddha and the Scythian or Sakya), seemingly, says Weber, a separation of Buddha Sakya-muni into two.³ The Indian Buddhists of the Southern school would dwell lightly on, or pass over altogether, a non-Aryan origin for the founder of their faith. We have seen how the legend of Buddha in their hands assimilated itself to the old epic type of the Aryan hero. But a Scythic origin would be congenial to the Northern school of Buddhism: to the school which was consolidated by the Scythic monarch Kanishka, and which supplied a religion during more than ten centuries to Scythic tribes of Central Asia.

Meaning of Sakya. We find, therefore, without surprise, that the sacred books of Tibet constantly speak of Buddha as the Sakya. In them, Buddha is the heir-apparent to the throne of the Sakyas; his doctrine is accepted by the Sakya race; and a too strict adherence to its tenets of mercy ends in the destruction of the Sakya capital, followed by the slaughter of the Sakya people.⁴ If we could be sure that Sakya really signified Scythian, this evidence would be conclusive. But the exact meaning of Sakya, although generally taken to be the Indian representative of Scythian, as the Persian Sakæ was the equivalent of Scythæ, has yet to be determined. At one time it seemed as if the

¹ Early History of Tibet, in Mr. Woodville Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, from the Tibetan Classics, p. 204 (Trübner, 1884).

² 'I believe the legend of Sakya was perverted into the history of Scythianus,' Beal's *Catena of the Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, p. 129 (Trübner, 1871).

³ Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 309, footnote 363 (Trübner, 1878). But Buddhism probably reached the Early Church through the Scythians; so that Buddha might be called Skuthianos, as the Scythian religious founder, without implying that he was a born Scythian. *Vide post*, chap. ix.

⁴ *Vide ante*, p. 140.

Tibetan records might settle the point. These hopes have, however, been disappointed, as the earliest Tibetan records prove to be a reflex of foreign influences rather than a depository of indigenous traditions.

Tibet, Khoten, and other countries to the north of the Himalayas, on adopting Buddhism, more or less unconsciously re-cast their national traditions into Buddhist moulds.¹ These countries formed the meeting-place of two distinct streams of civilisation,—the material civilisation of China, and the religious civilisation of India. Some of the early Tibetan legends seem to be clumsy copies of the stories of the first Chinese sovereigns recorded in the Bamboo Books.² The Tibetan classics further obscure the historical facts, by a tendency to trace the royal lines of Central Asia to the family or early converts of Buddha; as certain mediæval families of Europe claimed descent from the Wise Men of the East; and noble *gentes* of Rome found their ancestors among the heroes of the Trojan war. Thus the first Tibetan monarch derived his line from Prasenadjit, King of Kosala, the life-long friend of Buddha; and the dynasty of Khoten claimed, as its founder, a son of King Dharmasoka.

The truth is, that while Tibet obtained much of its material civilisation from China, its medicine, its mathematics, its weights and measures, its chronology, its clothing, its mulberries, tea, and ardent spirits; it received its religion and letters from India, together with its philosophy, and its ideal of the spiritual life. The mission of the seven Tibetan nobles to India to find an alphabet for the yet unwritten language of Tibet, is an historical event of the 7th century A.D. The Indian monastery of Nalanda was reproduced with fidelity in the great Hsamyas, or religious house at Lhasa. The struggle between Chinese and Indian influences disclosed itself alike in the public disputations of the Tibetan sects, and in the inner intrigues of the palace. One of the greatest of the Tibetan monarchs married two wives,—an Indian princess who brought Buddhist images from Nepal, and a Chinese princess who brought silk-brocades and whisky from China.³ We must therefore receive with caution the evidence as to the original signification of the word Sakya, derived from the records of a nation which was so largely indebted for its ideas and its traditions to later foreign sources.

¹ Early Histories of Tibet and Khoten, in Mr. Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, p. 232, etc.

² *Idem*, p. 203.

³ *Idem*, pp. 213-215.

Evidence
of Tibetan
traditions
as to the
Sakyas.

That evidence should, however, be stated. The Tibetan sacred books preserve an account of the Sakya creation ; of the non-sexual procession of the ancient Sakya kings ; and of the settlement of the Sakyas at Kapila, the birthplace of Buddha. Their chief seat was the kingdom of Kosala, near the southern base of the Himálayas. Tibetan traditions place the early Indian homes of the Sakyas on the banks of the Bhágrathí, as distinctly as the Vedic hymns place the homes of the primitive Aryans on the tributaries of the Indus. They claim, indeed, for Buddha a Kshattriyan descent from the noble Ishkvaku or Solar line. But it is clear that the race customs of the Indo-Sakyas differed in some respects from those of the Indo-Aryans.

Sakya race
customs.

At birth, the Sakya infant was made to bow at the feet of a tribal image, Taksha Sakya-vardana, which, on the presentation of Buddha, itself bowed down to the divine child.¹ In regard to marriage, the old Sakya law is said to have allowed a man only one wife.² The dead were disposed of by burial, although cremation was not unknown. In the *topes* or funeral mounds of Buddhism is apparently seen a reproduction of the royal Scythian tombs of which Herodotus speaks.³ Perhaps more remarkable is the resemblance of the great co-decease of Buddha's companions to the Scythian holocausts of the followers, servants and horses of a dead monarch.⁴ On the death of Buddha, according to the Tibetan texts, a co-decease of 18,000 of his disciples took place. On the death of the faithful Maudgalyayana, the co-decease of disciples amounted to 70,000 ; while on that of Sariputra, the co-decease of Buddhist ascetics was as high as 80,000.⁵ The composite idea of a co-decease of followers, together with a funeral mound over the relics of an illustrious personage, was in accordance with obsequies of the Scythian type.

Scythic
Buddhism
in India,
40-634
A.D.

Whatever may be the value of such analogies, the influence of the Scythian dynasties in Northern India is a historical fact. The Northern or Tibetan form of Buddhism, represented by the Scythian monarch Kanishka and the Fourth Council⁶ in 40 A.D., soon made its way down to the plains of Hindustán, and during the next six centuries competed with the earlier Buddhism of Asoka. The Chinese pilgrim in 629-645

¹ Mr. Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, p. 17.

² *Idem*, p. 15.

³ Herodotus, iv. 71, 127.

⁴ The slaughter of the king's concubine, cup-bearer, and followers is also mentioned in Herodotus, iv. 71 and 72.

⁵ Mr. Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, p. 141, footnote 3, and p. 148.

⁶ *Numismata Orientalia* (Ceylon fasc.), p. 54.

A.D. found both the Northern or Scythic and the Southern forms of Buddhism in full vigour in India. He spent fourteen months at China-pati, the town where Kanishka had kept his Chinese hostages in the Punjab; and he records the debates between the Northern and Southern sects of Buddhists in various places. The town of China-pati, ten miles west of the Beas river,¹ bore witness to later ages of the political connection of Northern India with the Trans-Himalayan races of Central and Eastern Asia. The Scythic influence in India was a Scythic dynastic as well as a religious one. The evidence of coins settlements in India. and the names of Indian tribes or reigning families, such as the Sákas, Huns, and Nágas, point to Scythian settlements as far south as the Central Provinces.²

Some scholars believe that the Scythians poured down upon India in such masses as to supplant the previous population. The Jats or Játs,³ who now number 4½ millions and form one-fifth of the inhabitants of the Punjab, are identified with the Getae; and their great sub-division the Dhe with the Dahae, whom Strabo places on the shores of the Caspian. This view has received the support of eminent investigators, from Professor H. H. Wilson to General Cunningham, the late Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India.⁴ The existing division between the Játs and the Dhe has, indeed, been traced back to the contiguity of the Massa-getae or Great Getae,⁵ and the Dahae, who dwelt side by side in Central Asia, and who may have advanced together during the Scythian movements towards India on the decline of the Græco-Bactrian Empire. Without pressing such identifications too closely in the service of particular theories, the weight of authority is in favour of a Scythian origin for the Játs, the most numerous and valuable section of the agricultural population of the Punjab.⁶ A similar descent has been assigned to certain of the Rájput

¹ General Cunningham's *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 200.

² Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, chap. v. vol. i. (1868); Sir C. Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, lxx., etc. (Nagpur, 1870); Reports of the *Archæological Survey of India and of Western India*; Professor H. H. Wilson (and Dr. F. Hall), *Vishnu Purána*, ii. 134.

³ The word occurs as Játs and Jats; but the identity of the two forms has been established by reference to the *Ain-i-Akbari*. Some are now Hindus, others Muhammadans.

⁴ See among other places, part iv. of his *Archæological Reports*, p. 19.

⁵ *Massa* means 'great' in Pehlevi.

⁶ It should be mentioned, however, that Dr. Trumpp believed them to be of Aryan origin (*Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellschaft.*, xv. p. 690). See Mr J. Beames' admirable edition of Sir Henry Elliott's *Glossary of the Races of the North-Western Provinces*, vol. i. pp. 130-137, ed. 1869.

tribes. Colonel Tod, still the standard historian of Rájásthán, strongly insisted on this point.

(2) The Rájputs.

The relationship between the Játs and the Rájputs, although obscure, is acknowledged; and although the *jus connubii* no longer exists between them, an inscription seems to show that they intermarried in the 5th century A.D.¹ Professor Cowell, indeed, regards the arguments for the Scythic descent of the Rájputs as inconclusive.² But authorities of weight have deduced, alike from local investigation³ and from Sanskrit literature,⁴ a Scythic origin for the Játs and for certain of the Rájput tribes. The question has lately been discussed, with the fulness of local knowledge, by Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, the chief Census officer for the Punjab in 1881. His conclusions are—First, that the terms Rájput and Ját indicate a difference in occupation and not in origin. Second, that even if they represent distinct waves of migration, separated by an interval of time, 'they belong to one and the same ethnic stock.' Third, 'that whether Játs and Rájputs were or were not originally distinct,' 'the two now form a common stock; the distinction between Ját and Rájput being social rather than ethnic.'⁵ We shall see that earlier migrations of Central Asian hordes also supplied certain of the Nágá, or so-called aboriginal, races of India.

Indian struggle against the Scythians.

The Scythic settlements were not effected without a struggle. As Chandra Gupta had advanced from the Gangetic valley, and rolled back the tide of Græco-Bactrian conquest, 312–306 B.C.,

¹ Inscription discovered in Kotah State; No. 1 of Inscription Appendix to Colonel Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rájásthán*, vol. i. p. 701, note 3 (Madras Reprint, 1873). Although Tod is still the standard historian of Rájputána, and will ever retain an honoured place as an original investigator, his ethnical theories must be received with caution.

² Appendix to Elphinstone's *Hist. Ind.*, pp. 250 *et seq.*, ed. 1866.

³ Tod's *Rájásthán*, pp. 52, 483, 500, etc., vol. i. (Madras Reprint, 1873).

⁴ Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall's edition of Professor H. H. Wilson's *Vishnu Purána*, vol. ii. p. 134. The Húnas, according to Wilson, were 'the white Huns who were established in the Punjab, and along the Indus, as we know from Arrian, Strabo, and Ptolemy, confirmed by recent discoveries of their coins and by inscriptions.' 'I am not prepared,' says Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, 'to deny that the ancient Hindus when they spoke of the Húnas included the Huns. In the Middle Ages, however, it is certain that a race called Húna was understood by the learned of India to form a division of the Kshattriyas.' Professor Dowson's *Dict. Hind. Mythology*, etc., p. 122.

⁵ See the ethnographical volume of the Punjab Census for 1881, paras. 421, 422 *et seq.*, by Mr. Denzil Jelf Ibbetson, of the Bengal Civil Service, p. 220 (Government Press, Calcutta, 1883).

so the native princes who stemmed the torrent of Scythian invasion are the Indian heroes of the first century before and after Christ. Vikramāditya, King of Ujjain, appears to have won his paramount place in Indian story by driving out the invaders. An era, the *Samvat*, beginning in 57 B.C., was founded in honour of his achievements. Its date¹ seems at variance with his legendary victories over the Scythian Kanishka in the 1st century after Christ.² But the very title of its founder suffices to commemorate his struggle against the northern hordes, as Vikramāditya Sakāri, or Vikramāditya, the Enemy of the Scythians.

Samvat
era. 57
B.C.

The name of Vikramāditya, 'A very Sun in Prowess,' was borne, as we have seen, by several Indian monarchs. In later ages their separate identity was merged in the ancient renown of the Slayer of the Scythians, who thus combined the fame of many Vikramādityas. There was a tendency to assign to his period the most eminent Indian works in science and poetry,—works which we know must belong to a date long after the first century of our era. His reign forms the Augustan era of Sanskrit literature; and tradition fondly ascribed the highest products of the Indian intellect during many later centuries to the poets and philosophers, or Nine Gems, of this Vikramāditya's Court. As Chandra Gupta, who freed India from the Greeks, is celebrated in the drama *Mudrá-rākshasa*; so Vikramāditya, the vanquisher of the Scythians, forms the central royal personage of the Hindu stage.

Vikramāditya's achievements, however, furnished no final deliverance, but merely form an episode in the long struggle between the Indian dynasties and new races from the north. Another popular era, the *Sāka*, literally the Scythian, takes its commencement in 78 A.D.,³ and is supposed to commemorate the defeat of the Scythians by a king of Southern India, Salivāhanā.⁴ During the seven centuries which followed, three powerful monarchies, the Senas, Guptas, and Valabhis, established themselves

Sāka or
Scythian
era, 78
A.D.

¹ *Samvatsara*, the 'Year.' The uncertainty which surrounds even this long-accepted finger-post in Indian chronology may be seen from Dr. J. Fergusson's paper 'On the Sāka and Samvat and Gupta eras' (*Journal Roy. As. Soc.*, New Series, vol. xii.), especially p. 172.

² The Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka family of the *Rājā Tarangini*, or *Chronicles of Kashmir*, are proved by inscriptions to belong to the 4th century of the Seleucid era, or the 1st century A.D.

³ Monday, 14th March 78 A.D., Julian style.

⁴ General Cunningham; see also Mr. Edw. Thomas' letter, dated 16th September 1874, to *The Academy*, which brings this date within the period of the Kanishka family (2 B.C. to 87 A.D.).

Sena (Sah) in Northern and Western India. The Senas and Singhas, or dynasty, Sátrops of Suráshtra, are traced by coins and inscriptions from 60 B.C. to 235 A.D.¹ After the Senas come the Guptas of KANAUJ,² in the North-Western Provinces, the Middle Land of ancient Bráhmaism.

Gupta dynasty, 319-470 A.D. The Guptas introduced an era of their own, commencing in 319 A.D.; and ruled in person or by viceroys over Northern India during 150 years, as far to the south-west as Káthiáwár. The Gupta dynasty was overthrown by foreign invaders, apparently a new influx of Huns or Tartars from the north-west (450-470 A.D.).

Valabhi dynasty, 480-722 A.D. The Valabhis succeeded the Guptas, and ruled over Cutch, north-western Bombay,³ and Málwá, from 480 to after 722 A.D.⁴ The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, gives a full account of the court and people of Valabhi (630-640 A.D.). Buddhism was the State religion, but heretics, *i.e.* Bráhmans, abounded; and the Buddhists themselves were divided between the northern school of the Scythian dynasties, and the southern or Indian school of Asoka. The Valabhis seem to have been overthrown by the early Arab invaders of Sind in the 8th century.

Long struggle against Scythic invaders, 57 B.C. to 544 A.D. The relations of these three Indian dynasties, the Senas, Guptas, and Valabhis, to the successive hordes of Scythians, who poured down on Northern India, are obscure. There is abundant evidence of a long-continued struggle, but the efforts to affix dates to its chief episodes have not yet produced results which can be accepted as final. Two Vikramáditya Sakáris, or vanquishers of the Scythians, are required for the purposes of chronology; and the great battle of Korúr near Múltán, in which the Scythian hosts perished, has been shifted backwards and forwards from 78 to 544 A.D.⁵

The truth seems to be that, during the first six centuries of the Christian era, the fortunes of the Scythian or Tartar races rose and fell from time to time in Northern India. They more than once sustained great defeats; and they more than once overthrew the native dynasties. Their presence is popularly

¹ By Mr. Newton. See Mr. E. Thomas on the Coins of the Sáh Kings, *Archæol. Rep. Western India*, p. 44 (1876); and Dr. J. Fergusson, *Journal Roy. As. Soc.*, 1880.

² Now a town of only 16,646 inhabitants in Farukhabád District, but with ruins extending over a semicircle of 4 miles in diameter.

³ Lát-desh, including the collectorates of SURAT, BROACH, KAIRA, and parts of BARODA territory.

⁴ The genealogy is worked out in detail by Mr. E. Thomas, *ut supra*, pp. 80-82.

⁵ 78 A.D. was the popularly received date, commemorated by the *Sáka era*; 'between 524 and 544 A.D.' is suggested by Dr. Fergusson (p. 284 of *Journal Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. xii.) in 1880.

attested during the century before Christ by Vikramāditya (57 B.C. ?); during the 1st century after Christ, it is represented by the Kanishka family (2 B.C. to 87 A.D.); it was noted by Cosmas Indicopleustes, about 535 A.D.

A recent writer on the subject¹ believes that it was the white Huns who overthrew the Guptas between 465 and 470 A.D. He places the great battles of Korúr and Maushari, which 'freed India from the Sákas and Húnas,' between 524 and 544 A.D. But these dates still lie in the domain of inductive, indeed almost of conjectural, history. Cosmas Indicopleustes, who traded in the Red Sea about 535 A.D., speaks of the Huns as a powerful nation in Northern India in his days.²

While Greek and Scythic influences had thus been at work in Northern India during nine centuries (327 B.C. to 544 A.D.), another (so-called indigenous) element was profoundly affecting the future of the Indian people. A previous chapter has traced the fortunes, and sketched the present condition, of the pre-Aryan 'aborigines.' The Bráhmancial Aryans never accomplished a complete subjugation of these earlier races. The tribes and castes of non-Aryan origin numbered in 1872 about 18 millions in British territory; while the castes who claim a pure Aryan descent are under 16 millions.³ The pre-Aryans have influenced the popular dialects of every Province, and in Southern India they still give their speech to 28 millions of people.

The Vedic settlements along the five rivers of the Punjab were merely colonies or confederacies of Aryan tribes, who had pushed in among a non-Aryan population. When an Aryan family advanced to a new territory, it had often, as in the case of the Pándava brethren, to clear the forest and drive out the aboriginal people. This double process constantly repeated itself; and as late as 1657, when the Hindu Rájá founded the present city of BAREILLY, his first work was to cut down the jungle and expel the old Katheriyas. The ancient Bráhmancial kingdoms of the Middle Land (*Madhya-desh*), in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, were surrounded by non-Aryan tribes. All the legendary advances beyond the northern centre of Aryan civilisation, narrated in the epic poets, were made into

¹ Dr. J. Fergusson, *Journal Roy. As. Soc.*, pp. 282-284, etc. (1880).

² *Topographia Christiana*, lib. xi. p. 338; *apud* Fergusson, *ut supra*.

³ This latter number included both Bráhmans (10,574,444) and Kshattriyas and Rájputs (5,240,495). But, as we have just seen, some of the Rájput tribes are believed to be of Scythic origin, while others have been incorporated from confessedly non-Aryan tribes (*vide ante*, p. 91). Such non-Aryan Rájputs more than outnumber any survivals of the Vaisyas of pure Aryan descent.

the territory of non-Aryan races. When we begin to catch historical glimpses of India, we find the countries even around the northern Aryan centre ruled by non-Aryan princes. The Nandas, whom Chandra Gupta succeeded in Behar, appear as a Śūdra or non-Aryan dynasty; and according to one account, Chandra Gupta and his grandson Asoka came of the same stock.¹

Pre-Aryan
kingdoms
in
Northern
India.

The Buddhist religion did much to incorporate the pre-Aryan tribes into the Indian polity. During the long struggle of the Indo-Aryans against Græco-Bactrian and Scythian inroads (627 B.C. to 544 A.D.), the Indian aboriginal races must have had an increasing importance, whether as enemies or allies. At the end of that struggle, we discover them ruling in some of the fairest tracts of Northern India. In almost every District throughout Oudh and the North-Western Provinces, ruined towns and forts are ascribed to aboriginal races who ruled at different periods, according to the local legends, between the 5th and 11th centuries A.D. When the Muhammadan conquest supplies a firmer historical footing, after 1000 A.D., non-Aryan tribes were still in possession of several of these Districts, and had only been lately ousted from others.

The
Takshaks
of Rāwal
Pindi
District.

The
Takshaks.
Sixth Cen-
tury B.C.;
327 B.C.

The Statistical Survey of India has brought together many survivals of these obscure races. It is impossible to follow that survey through each locality; the following paragraphs indicate, with the utmost brevity, a few of the results. Starting from the West, Alexander the Great found RAWAL PINDI District in the hands of the Takkas or Takshaks, from whom its Greek name of Taxila was derived. This people has been traced to a Scythian migration about the 6th century B.C.² Their settlements in the 4th century B.C. seem to have extended from the Paropamisian range³ in Afghānistān to deep into Northern India. Their Punjab capital, Takshāsila, or Taxila, was the largest city which Alexander met with between the Indus and the Jehlam (327 B.C.).⁴ Salihāvana, from whom the Sāka

¹ The *Mudrā-rākshasa* represents Chandra Gupta as related to the last of the Nandas; the Commentator of the *Vishnu Purāna* says he was the son of a Nanda by a low-caste woman. Prof. Dowson's *Dict. Hindu Mythology*, etc., p. 68 (Trübner, 1879).

² Such dates have no pretension to be anything more than intelligent conjectures based on very inadequate evidence. With regard to the Takshaks, see Colonel Tod and the authorities which he quotes, *Rājasthān*, vol. i. p. 53 *passim*, pp. 93 *et seq.* (Madras Reprint, 1873).

³ Where Alexander found them as the Παλαι-τακæ — *pahari* or Hill Takæ(?).

⁴ Arrian. The Brāhman mythologists, of course, produce an Aryan pedigree for so important a person as King Taksha, and make him the son of Bharata and nephew of Rāma-chandra.

or Scythian era took its commencement (78 A.D.), is held by some authorities to have been of Takshak descent.¹ In the 7th century A.D., Taki,² perhaps derived from the same race, was the capital of the Punjab. The Scythic Takshaks, indeed, are supposed to have been the source of the great Serpent Race, the Takshakas or Nágás, who figure so prominently in Sanskrit literature and art, and whose name is still borne by the Nágá tribes of our own day. The Takkas remaining to the present time are found only in the Districts of Delhi and Karnal. They number 14,305, of whom about three-fourths have adopted the faith of Islám.

The words Nágá and Takshaka in Sanskrit both mean a 'snake,' or tailed monster. As the Takshakas have been questionably connected with the Scythian Takkas, so the Nágás have been derived, by conjecture in the absence of evidence, from the Tartar patriarch Nagas, the second son of Elkhán.³ Both the terms, Nágás and Takshakas, seem to have been loosely applied by the Sanskrit writers to a variety of non-Aryan peoples in India, whose religion was of an anti-Aryan type. We learn, for example, how the five Pándava brethren of the Mahábhárata burned out the snake-king Takshaka from his primeval Khándava forest. The Takshaks and Nágás were the tree and serpent worshippers, whose rites and objects of adoration have impressed themselves deeply on the architecture and sculptures of India. They included, in a confused manner, several different races of Scythic origin.

The chief authority on Tree and Serpent Worship in India has deliberately selected the term 'Scythian' for the anti-Aryan elements, which entered so largely into the Indian religions both in ancient and in modern times.⁴ The Chinese records give a full account of the Nágá geography of ancient India. The Nágá kingdoms were both numerous and powerful, and Buddhism derived many of its royal converts from them. The

¹ Tod, *Rájásthán*, vol. i. p. 95 (ed. 1873).

² Taki, or Asarur, 45 miles west of Lahore. General Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 191, and Map vi. (ed. 1871). This Taki lies, however, considerably to the south-east of the Takshásila of Alexander's expedition.

³ Tod, *Rájásthán*, vol. i. p. 53 (ed. 1873); a very doubtful authority.

⁴ Dr. J. Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pp. 71, 72 (India Museum, 4to, 1868). For the results of more recent local research, see Mr. Rivett-Carnac's papers in the *Journal of the As. Soc., Bengal*, 'The Snake Symbol in India,' 'Ancient Sculpturings on Rocks,' 'Stone Carvings at Máinpurí,' etc.; the Honourable Ráo Sáhíb Vishvanáks Náráyan Mandlik's 'Serpent-Worship in Western India,' and other essays in the *Bombay As. Soc. Journal*; also, *Reports of Archæological Survey*, Western India.

become
the
Dragon-
races of
China.

Chinese chroniclers, indeed, classify the Nágá princes of India into two great divisions, as Buddhists and non-Buddhists. The serpent-worship, which formed so typical a characteristic of the Indo-Scythic races, led the Chinese to confound those tribes with the objects of their adorations; and the fierce Indo-Scythic Nágás would almost seem to be the originals of the Dragon races of Chinese Buddhism and Chinese art. The compromises to which Buddhism submitted, with a view to winning the support of the Nágá peoples, will be referred to in the following chapter, on the Rise of Hinduism.

The
Ghakkars
of Ráwal
Pindi,
1008-1857
A.D.

As the Greek invaders found Ráwal Pindi District in possession of a Scythic race of Takkas in 327 B.C., so the Musalmán conqueror found it inhabited by a fierce non-Aryan race of Ghakkars thirteen hundred years later. The Ghakkars for a time imperilled the safety of Mahmúd of Ghazni in 1008. Farishta describes them as savages, addicted to polyandry and infanticide. The tide of Muhammadan conquest rolled on, but the Ghakkars remained in possession of their sub-Himálayan tract.¹ In 1205 they ravaged the Punjab to the gates of Lahore; in 1206 they stabbed the Muhammadan Sultán in his tent; and in spite of conversion to Islám by the sword, it was not till 1525 that they made their submission to the Emperor Bábar in return for a grant of territory. During the next two centuries they rendered great services to the Mughal dynasty against the Afghán usurpers, and rose to high influence in the Punjab. Driven from the plains by the Sikhs in 1765 A.D., the Ghakkar chiefs maintained their independence in the Murree (Marri) Hills till 1830, when they were crushed after a bloody struggle. In 1849, Ráwal Pindi passed, with the rest of the Sikh territories, under British rule. But the Ghakkars revolted four years afterwards, and threatened Murree, the summer capital of the Punjab, as lately as 1857. The Ghakkars are now found in the Punjab Districts of Ráwal Pindi, Jehlam, and Hazára. Their total number was returned at 25,789 in 1881. They are described by their British officers as 'a fine spirited race, gentlemen in ancestry and bearing, and clinging under all reverses to the traditions of noble blood.'²

Pre-
Aryans of
Bareilly
District.

The population of Ráwal Pindi District has been selected to illustrate the long-continued presence and vitality of the pre-Aryan element in India. Other parts of the country must be

¹ For a summary of their later history, see article on RAWAL PINDI DISTRICT, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, article RAWAL PINDI DISTRICT.

more briefly dealt with. Proceeding inwards into the North-Western Provinces, we everywhere find traces of an early Buddhist civilisation in contact with, or overturned by, rude non-Aryan tribes. In Bareilly District, for example, the wild Ahirs from the north, the Bhils from the south, and the Bhars from the east, seem to have expelled highly-developed Aryan communities at some period before 1000 A.D. Still farther to the east, all remains of pre-historic masonry in Oudh and the North-Western Provinces are assigned to the ancient Buddhists or to a non-Aryan race of Bhars.

The Bhars appear to have possessed the north Gangetic plains in the centuries coeval with the fall of Buddhism. Their kingdoms extended over most of Oudh. Lofty mounds covered with ancient groves mark the sites of their forgotten cities; and they are the mysterious 'fort-builders' to whom the peasantry ascribe any ruin of unusual size. In the central valley of the Ganges, their power is said to have been crushed by the Sharki dynasty of Jaunpur in the end of the 14th century. In the Districts north of the Gangetic plain, the Bhars figure still more prominently in local traditions, and an attempt has been made to trace their continuous history. In GORAKHPUR DISTRICT, the aboriginal Tharus and Bhars seem to have overwhelmed the early outposts of Aryan civilisation several centuries before Christ. Their appearance on the scene is connected with the rise of Buddhism. They became vassals of the Buddhist kingdom of Behar on the south-east; and on the fall of that power, about 550 A.D., they regained their independence. The Chinese pilgrim in the 7th century comments in this region on the large number of monasteries and towers—the latter probably a monument of the struggle with the aboriginal Bhars, who were here finally crushed between the 7th and the 10th centuries A.D. In 1881, the total Bhar population of Oudh and the North-Western Provinces numbered 349,113.

As we advance still farther eastwards into Bengal, we find that the non-Aryan races have within historical time supplied a large part of the Hindu population. In the north, the Koch established their dominion upon the ruins of the Aryan kingdom of Kámrúp, which the Afghán King of Bengal had overthrown in 1489. The Koch gave their name to the Native State of KUCH BEHAR; and their descendants, together with those of other non-Aryan tribes, form the mass of the people in the neighbouring British Districts, such as RANGPUR. In 1881, they numbered 1¼ million in Northern Bengal and

The Bhars
in Oudh.

In Jaun-
pur.

In Gorakh-
pur.

The Koch
of
Northern
Bengal.

In Kuch
Behar.

In Rang-
pur.

Kuch
Behar
Rájás.

Behar. One part of them got rid of their low origin by becoming Musalmáns, and thus obtained the social equality which Islám grants to all mankind. The rest have merged more or less imperfectly into the Hindu population; and about three-quarters of a million of them claim, in virtue of their position as an old dominant race, to belong to the Kshattriya caste. They call themselves Rájbansís, a term exactly corresponding to the Rájputs of Western India. The Hinduized Rájás of Kuch Behar obtained for their ancestors a divine origin from their Bráhmaṇ genealogists, in order to efface their aboriginal descent; and among the nobility all mention of the Koch tribe was avoided. The present Mahárájá married the daughter of the celebrated theistic apostle, Keshab Chandra Sen, the leader of the Brahmo Samáj. He is an honorary major in the British army, and takes a prominent part in Calcutta and Simla society.

Ahams of
Assam.

Proceeding still eastwards, the adjacent valley of Assam was, until the last century, the seat of another non-Aryan ruling race. The Ahams entered Assam from the south-east about 1350 (?) A.D.; had firmly established their power in 1663; gradually yielded to Hinduism; and were overpowered by fresh Buddhist invasions from Burma between 1750 and 1825, when the valley was annexed to British India. The Ahams have been completely crushed as a dominant race; and their old national priests, to the number of 253,860, have been forced to become tillers of the soil for a living. But the people of Assam are still so essentially made up of aboriginal races and their Hinduized descendants, that not 130,000 persons of even alleged pure Aryan descent can be found in a population exceeding 4½ millions.¹

Pie-
Aryan
element
south of
the
Ganges.

Aborigines
in Central
India;

The foregoing summary has been confined to races north of the Ganges. Passing to the southern Gangetic plain, we find that almost every tract has traditions of a pre-Aryan tribe, either as a once-dominant race or as lying at the root of the local population. The great Division of Bundelkhand contains several crushed peoples of this class, and takes its name from the Bundelas, a tribe of at least semi-aboriginal descent.

¹ The Bráhmans in Assam number only 119,075 (being fewer than the Kalitás or old priests of the Ahams, 253,860), out of a total population in Assam of 4,881,426; while the Koch alone number about 230,382, and even the crushed Ahams 179,314. For further particulars regarding these races, see *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, article ASSAM.

As we rise from the Gangetic plains into the highlands of the Central Provinces, we reach the abiding home of the non-Aryan tribes. One such race after another—Gaulís, Nágás, Gonds, Ahírs, Bhíls—ruled from the Sátpura plateau.¹ Some of their chiefs and leading families now claim to be Kshattriyas; and a section of one of the lowest races, the Chauháns, borrowed their name from the noble 'Chauhán' Rájputs.

In the Lower Provinces of Bengal, we find the delta in Lower Bengal; peopled by masses of pre-Aryan origin. One section of them has merged into low-class Hindus; another section has sought a more equal social organization by accepting the creed of Muhammad. But such changes of faith do not alter their ethnical type; and the Musalmán of the delta differs as widely in race from the Afghán, as the low-caste Hindu of the delta differs from the Bráhmaṇ. Throughout Southern India, the non-Aryan elements form almost the entire population, and have supplied the great Dravidian family of languages, which in Southern India. are spoken by 28 millions of people. Two of our oldest and most faithful allies in the Madras Presidency, the enlightened dynasty of Travancore, and the ancient princes of Pudukotta, are survivals of the time when non-Aryan sovereigns ruled over Southern India.

The Scythic inroads, and the ancient Nágá and so-called Scythic and Nágá influences on Hinduism. aboriginal tribes, have, however, not merely left behind remnants of races in individual Districts. They have affected the character of the whole population, and profoundly influenced the religious beliefs and domestic institutions of India. In the Veda we see highly developed communities of the Aryan stock, worshipping bright and friendly gods, honouring woman, and assigning to her an important position in the family life. Husband and wife were the *Dampati*, or joint rulers of the Indo-Aryan household. Traditions of the freedom of woman among the ancient Aryan settlers survive in the *swayamvara* or Maiden's Own Choice of a Husband, in the epic poems.

The curtain of Vedic and Post-Vedic literature falls upon On the religion and domestic life of modern India. the scene before the 5th century B.C. When the curtain rises on the domestic and religious life of mediæval India, in the

¹ See CENTRAL PROVINCES, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. The Gaulís are locally believed to have been earlier fort-builders than the Gonds (see for example, article SAONER); and some of the Gond chiefs trace their descent through 54 generations to a well-recorded ancestor assigned to 91 A.D. (see *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, article SARANGHAR).

Puránas about the 10th century A.D., a vast change has taken place. The people are no longer sharply divided into civilised Aryans and rude non-Aryans, but into castes of a great mixed population. Their religion is no longer a worship of bright and friendly gods, but a composite product of Aryan spiritual conceptions and non-Aryan superstitions. The position of woman has also altered for the worse. Husband and wife are no longer 'joint rulers' of the household. The Maiden's Own Choice has fallen into disuse, or survived only as a Court pageant; the custom of child-marriage has grown up. The widow has been condemned to a life of privation, or has been taught the merit of extinguishing her existence on her husband's funeral pile.

The
appeal to
the Veda.

The following chapter will exhibit this amorphous growth, popularly known as Hinduism. Orthodox Hindus are unfortunately in the habit of claiming the authority of the Veda for their mediæval institutions, for the evil as well as for the good. As a matter of fact, these institutions are the joint product of non-Aryan darkness and of Aryan light. The Scythic, and Nágá, and so-called aboriginal races, with their indifference to human suffering, their polyandric households, and their worship of fear and blood, have left their mark deep in the Hindu law-codes, in the terrorizing of the Hindu religion, and in the degradation of woman. English scholarship has shown that the worst feature of Hinduism, widow-burning, had no authority in the Veda. When it is equally well understood that the darker features of Hinduism, as a whole, rest not upon the Vedic scriptures, but are the result of a human compromise with non-Aryan barbarism, the task of the Indian reformer will be half accomplished. It is with a true popular instinct that the great religious movements of India in our day reject the authority of mediæval Hinduism, and appeal back to the Veda.

CHAPTER VIII.

RISE OF HINDUISM (750 TO 1520 A.D.).

FROM these diverse races, pre-Aryan, Aryan, and Scythic, the population of India has been made up. The task of organizing them fell to the Bráhmans. That ancient caste, which had never quitted the scene even during the height of the Buddhistic supremacy, stepped forward to the front of the stage upon the decay of the Buddhist faith. The Chinese pilgrim, about 640 A.D., had found Bráhmanism and Buddhism co-existing throughout India. The conflict of creeds brought forth a great line of Bráhman apostles, from the 8th to the 16th century A.D., with occasional successors down to our own day. The disintegration of Buddhism, as we have seen, occupied many hundred years, perhaps from 300 to 1000 A.D.¹

The Hindus take the 8th century as the turning-point in the struggle. About 750 A.D., arose a holy Bráhman of Bengal, Kumáрила Bhatta by name, preaching the old Vedic doctrine of a personal Creator and God. Before this realistic theology, the impersonal abstractions of the Buddhists succumbed; and according to a later legend, the reformer wielded the sword of the flesh not less trenchantly than the weapons of the spirit. A Sanskrit writer, Madhava-Achárya, of the 14th century A.D., relates how Sudhanwan, a prince in Southern India, 'commanded his servants to put to death the old men and the children of the Buddhists, from the bridge of Ráma [the ridge of reefs which connects India with Ceylon] to the Snowy Mountain: let him who slays not, be slain.'²

RISE OF
HINDU-
ISM.

Kumáрила,
750 (?)
A.D.

Persecu-
tion (?) of
Buddhism.

¹ From the language of the Saddharma Pundarika, translated into Chinese before the end of the 3rd century A.D., H. H. Wilson infers that even at that early date 'the career of the Buddhists had not been one of uninterrupted success, although the opposition had not been such as to arrest their progress' (*Essays*, vol. ii. p. 366, ed. 1862). The existence of Buddhism in India is abundantly attested to 1000 A.D.

² Quoted by H. H. Wilson, *ut supra*. See also Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. iv. p. 708; Colebrooke's *Essays*, p. 190.

True value of the legend. It is needless to say that no sovereign existed at that time in India whose power to persecute extended from the Himálayas to Cape Comorin. So far as the legend has any truth, it refers to one of many local religious reprisals which took place at the Indian courts during the struggle between the Buddhists and the Bráhmans. Such reprisals recurred in later days, on a smaller scale, between the rival Hindu sects. The legend of Kumáрила is significant, however, as placing on a religious basis the series of many-sided evolutions which resulted in Hinduism. These evolutions were the result of ethnical processes, more subtle than the scheming of any caste of men. The Bráhmans gave a direction to Hinduism, but it was the natural development of the Indian races which produced it.

Twofold basis of Hinduism ; caste and religion. Hinduism is a social organization and a religious confederacy. As a social organization, it rests upon caste, with its roots deep down in the ethnical elements of the Indian people. As a religious confederacy, it represents the coalition of the old Vedic faith of the Bráhmans with Buddhism on the one hand, and with the ruder rites of the pre-Aryan and Indo-Scythic races on the other.

Caste basis of Hinduism. The ethnical basis of caste is disclosed in the fourfold division of the people into the 'twice-born' Aryan castes, including the Bráhmans, Kshattriyas (Rájputs), and Vaisyas ; and the 'once-born' non-Aryan Súdras. The Census proves that this classification remains the fundamental one to the present day. The three 'twice-born' castes still wear the sacred thread, and claim a joint, although an unequal, inheritance in the holy books of the Veda. The 'once-born' castes are still denied the sacred thread, and their initiation into the old religious literature of the Indo-Aryans has only been effected by the secular teaching of our Anglo-Indian schools. But while caste has thus its foundations deep in the distinctions of race, its superstructure is regulated by another system of division, based on the occupations of the people. The early classification of the people may be expressed either ethnically as 'twice-born' Aryans, and 'once-born' non-Aryans ; or socially, as priests, warriors, husbandmen, and serfs. On these two principles of classification, according to race and to employment, still further modified by geographical position, has been built up the ethnical and social organization of Indian caste.

Modified by 'occupation' and 'locality.' From the resulting cross-divisions arises an excessive complexity, which renders any brief exposition of caste superficial. As a rule, it may be said that the Aryan or 'twice-born' castes adhere most closely to the ethnical principle of

Complexity of caste.

division; the 'once-born' or distinctly non-Aryan to the same principle, but profoundly modified by the concurrent principle of employment; while the mixed progeny of the two are classified solely according to their occupation. But even among the Bráhmans, whose pride of race and continuity of tradition should render them the firmest ethnical unit among the Indian castes, classification by employment and by geographical situation plays a very important part; and the Bráhmans, so far from being a compact unit, are made up of several hundred castes, who cannot intermarry, nor eat food cooked by each other. They follow every employment, from the calm *pandits* of Behar in their stainless white robes, and the haughty priests of Benares, to the potato-growing Bráhmans of Orissa, 'half-naked peasants, struggling along under their baskets of yams, with a filthy little Bráhmanical thread over their shoulder.'¹

Even the Bráhmans not an ethnical unit.

In many parts of India, Bráhmans may be found earning their livelihood as porters, shepherds, cultivators, potters, and fishermen, side by side with others who would rather starve and see their wives and little ones die of hunger, than demean themselves to manual labour, or allow food prepared by a man of inferior caste to pass their lips. Classification by locality introduces another set of distinctions among the Bráhmans. In Lower Bengal jails, a convict Bráhman from Behar or the North-Western Provinces used to be highly valued, as the only person who could prepare food for all classes of Bráhman prisoners. In 1864, the author saw a Bráhman felon try to starve himself to death, and submit to a flogging rather than eat his food, on account of scruples as to whether the birthplace of the North-Western Bráhman, who had cooked it, was equal in sanctity to his own native district. The Bráhmans are popularly divided into ten great septs, according to their locality; five on the north, and five on the south of the Vindhya range.² But the minor distinctions are innumerable. Thus, the first of the five northern Bráhman septs, the

The Bráhman caste analyzed.

¹ See Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. i. pp. 238 *et seq.* (ed. 1872), where 25 pages are devoted to the diversities of the Bráhmans in occupation and race. Also *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, by the Rev. M. A. Sherring, Introd. xxi. vol. ii. (4to, Calcutta, 1879).

² Thus tabulated according to a Sanskrit mnemonic *Sloka* :—

I. The five Gauras north of the Vindhya range—

(1) The *Sáraswatás*, so called from the country watered by the river Saraswatí.

(2) The *Kányakubjas*, so called from the Kányakubja or Kanauj country.

Sáraswatas in the Punjab, consist of 469 classes.¹ Sherring enumerated 1886 separate Bráhmañical tribes.² Dr. Wilson, of Bombay, carried his learned work on Caste to the length of two volumes, aggregating 678 pages, before his death; but he had not completed his analysis of even a single caste—the Bráhmans.

The lower castes still more complex.

It will be readily understood, therefore, how numerous are the sub-divisions, and how complex is the constitution, of the lower castes. The Rájputs now number 590 separately-named tribes in different parts of India.³ But a process of synthesis as well as of analysis has been going on among the Indian peoples. In many outlying Provinces, we see non-Aryan chiefs and warlike tribes turn into Aryan Rájputs before our eyes.⁴ Well-known legends have been handed down of large bodies of aliens being incorporated from time to time even into the Bráhmañ caste.⁵ But besides these 'manufactured Bráhmans,' and the ethnical syncretisms which they represent, there has been a steady process of amalgamation among the Hindus by mixed marriage.⁶ The Súdras, says Mr. Sherring, 'display a great intermingling of races. Every caste exhibits this confusion. They form a living and practical testimony to the fact that in former times the upper and lower classes of native society, by which I

The building up of castes.

(3) The *Gauras* proper, so called from Gaur, or the country of the Lower Ganges.

(4) The *Utkalas*, of the Province of Utkala or Odra (Orissa).

(5) The *Maitihilas*, of the Province of Mithila (Tirhut).

II. The five Dravidas south of the Vindhya range—

(1) The *Maháráshtras*, of the country of the Maráthí language.

(2) The *Andhras* or *Tailangas*, of the country of the Telugu language.

(3) The *Dravidas* proper, of the country of the Dravidian or Tamil language.

(4) The *Karnátas*, of the Karnátika, or the country of the Canarese language.

(5) The *Gurjaras*, of Gurjaráshtra, or the country of the Gujaráti language.

¹ Compiled by Pandit Rádhá Krishna, quoted by Dr. J. Wilson, *Indian Caste*, part ii. pp. 126-133.

² *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, pp. xxii.-xlvi. vol. ii. (4to, Calcutta, 1879).

³ See Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. ii. pp. lv.-lxv.

⁴ See Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. ii. p. lxvii.

⁵ Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. i. p. 247 (in Oudh), p. 248 (in Bhágalpur), p. 254 (in Malabar), etc.

⁶ See two interesting articles from opposite points of view, on the synthetic aspects of caste, by the Rev. Mr. Sherring, of Benares, and by Jogendra Chandra Ghose, in the *Calcutta Review*, Oct. 1880.

mean the Hindu and non-Hindu population of India, formed alliances with one another on a prodigious scale, and that the offspring of these alliances were in many instances gathered together into separate castes and denominated Sûdras.¹

The Hindu custom now forbids marriage between (1) persons of the same *gotra* or kindred, and (2) persons of different castes. But this precise double rule has been arrived at only after many intermediate experiments in endogamous and exogamous tribal life. The transitions are typified by the polyandry of Draupadî in the Mahâbhârata, and by many caste customs relating to marriage, inheritance, and the family tie, which survive to this day. Such survivals constitute an important branch of law, in fact, the domestic 'common law' of India,² and furnish one of the chief difficulties in the way of Anglo-Indian codification. Thus, to take a single point, the rules regarding marriage exhibit every phase from the compulsory polyandry of the old Nairs, the permissive polyandry of the Punjab Jâts, and the condonement of adultery with a husband's brother or kinsman among the Kârakat Vellâlers of Madura; to the law of Levirate among the Ahîrs and Nuniyâs, the legal re-marriage of widows among the low-caste Hindus, and the stringent provisions against such re-marriages among the higher castes. At this day, the Nairs exhibit several of the stages in the advance from polyandric to monogamous institutions. The conflict between polyandry and the more civilised marriage system of the Hindus is going on before our eyes in Malabar. Among the Koils, although polyandry is forgotten, the right of disposing of a girl in marriage still belongs, in certain cases, to the *maternal* uncle,—a relic of the polyandric system of succession through females. This tribe also preserves the form of marriage by 'capture.'

The slow development of Hindu marriage law.

Survivals of the process.

The *Brâhmanas* indicate that the blood of the Hindus was, even in the early post-Vedic period, greatly intermingled.³ The ancient marriage code recognised as lawful, unions of men of higher caste with females from any of the lower ones, and their offspring⁴ had a quite different social status from

Ancient mingling of castes.

¹ *Calcutta Review*, cxlii. p. 225.

² Among many treatises on this subject, Arthur Steele's *Law and Customs of Hindu Castes* (1868) deals with Western India; Nelson's *View of Hindu Law* (1877), and Burnell's *Dayavibhâga*, etc., may be quoted for the Madras Presidency; Beames' admirable edition of Sir Henry Elliot's *Tribes of the North-Western Provinces*, and Sherring's *Hindu Tribes* (besides more strictly legal treatises), for Bengal.

³ The *Taittirîya Brâhmana* of the Krishna Yajur Veda (quoted by Dr. J. Wilson, *Caste*, i. pp. 127-132) enumerates 159 castes. ⁴ *Amuloma*.

the progeny¹ of illicit concubinage. The laws of Manu disclose how widely such connections had influenced the structure of Indian society 2000 years ago; and the Census proves that the mixed castes still form the great body of the Hindu population. In dealing with Indian caste, we must therefore allow, not only for the ethnical and geographical elements into which it is resolvable, but also for the synthetic processes by which it has been built up.

The 'occupation' basis of caste.

Changes of 'occupation' by castes.

The Vaisyas.

Goldsmiths of Madras.

The same remark applies to the other principle of classification on which caste rests, namely, according to the employments of the people. On the one hand, there has been a tendency to erect every separate employment in each separate Province into a distinct caste. On the other hand, there has been a practice (which European observers are apt to overlook) of the lower castes changing their occupation, and in some cases deliberately raising themselves in the social scale. Thus the Vaisya caste, literally the *vīs* or general body of the Aryan settlers, were in ancient times the tillers of the soil. They have abandoned this laborious occupation to the Sūdra and mixed castes, and are now the merchants and bankers of India. 'Fair in complexion,' writes the most accurate of recent students of caste,² 'with rather delicate features, and a certain refinement depicted on their countenances, sharp of eye, intelligent of face, and polite of bearing,' the Vaisyas 'must have radically changed since the days when their forefathers delved, sowed, and reaped.' Indeed, so great is the change, that a heated controversy is going on in Hindu society as to whether the Bengali *baniyās*, or merchant-bankers, are really of Vaisya descent or of a higher origin.

Such a rise in the social scale is usually the unconscious work of time, but there are also legends of distinct acts of self-assertion by individual castes. In Southern India, the goldsmiths strenuously resisted the rule of the Brāhmins, and for ages claimed to be the true spiritual guides, styling themselves *āchāryas*, 'religious teachers,' and wearing the sacred thread. Their pretensions are supposed to have given rise to the great division of castes in Madras, into the 'Right-hand,' or the cultivating and trading castes who supported the Brāhmins;

¹ *Pratiloma*. For an arrangement of 134 Indian castes, according to their origin, or 'procession' from (1) regular full marriage by members of the same caste, (2) *anuloma*, (3) *pratiloma*, (4) *Vrātya-Santati*, (5) adultery, (6) incest, (7) degeneration; Wilson, *Indian Caste*, ii. pp. 39-70.

² The Rev. M. A. Sherring (deceased, alas, since the above was written, after a life of noble devotion and self-sacrifice to the Indian people), *Calcutta Review*, October 1880, p. 220.

and the 'Left-hand,' chiefly craftsmen who sided with the artisan opposition to Bráhmaṇ supremacy.¹

In Bengal, a similar opposition came from the literary class. The Dattas, a sept of the Káyasth or writer-caste, renounced the position assigned to them in the classification of Hindu society. They claimed to rank next to the Bráhmans, and thus above all the other castes. They failed; but a native author² states that one of their body, within the memory of men still living, maintained his title, and wore the sacred thread of the pure 'twice-born.' The Statistical Survey of India has disclosed many self-assertions of this sort, although of a more gradual character and on a smaller scale. Thus, in Eastern Bengal, where land is plentiful, the Sháhas, a section of the Suris or degraded spirit-sellers, have, in our own time, advanced themselves first into a respectable cultivating caste, and then into prosperous traders. Some of the Telis or oil-pressers in Dacca District, and certain of the Támbulís or *pán*-growers in Rangpur, have in like manner risen above their hereditary callings, and become bankers and grain merchants. These examples do not include the general opening of professions, effected by English education—the great solvent of caste.

The Dattas of Bengal.

The Sháhas.

Telis, Támbulís, etc.

There is therefore a plasticity as well as a rigidity in caste. Its plasticity has enabled caste to adapt itself to widely separated stages of social progress, and to incorporate the various ethnical elements which make up the Indian people. Its rigidity has given strength and permanence to the corporate body thus formed. Hinduism is internally loosely coherent, but it has great powers of resistance to external pressure. Each caste is to some extent a trade-guild, a mutual assurance society, and a religious sect. As a trade-union, it insists on the proper training of the youth of its craft, regulates the wages of its members, deals with trade-delinquents, and promotes good fellowship by social gatherings. The famous fabrics of mediæval India, and the chief local industries in our own day, were developed under the supervision of caste or trade guilds of this sort. Such guilds may still be found in many parts of India, but not always with the same complete development.³

Plasticity and rigidity in caste.

Caste, as a system of trade-guilds.

¹ This subject is involved in much obscurity. The above sentences embody the explanation given in Nelson's *View of the Hindu Law, as administered by the High Court of Madras*, p. 140 (Madras, 1877).

² Jogendra Chandra Ghose, *Culcutta Review*, cxlii. p. 279 (October 1880).

³ The *Statistical Accounts* or *Gazetteers* of the Bombay Districts devote a special section to such trade-guilds in every District.

Its
regulation
of wages.

In AHMADABAD DISTRICT¹ each trade forms a separate guild. All heads of artisan households are ranged under their proper guild. The objects of the guild are to regulate competition among the members, and to uphold the interest of the body in disputes with other craftsmen. To moderate competition, the guild appoints certain days as trade holidays, when any member who works is punished by a fine. A special case occurred in 1873 among the Ahmadábád bricklayers. Men of this class sometimes added 3d. to their daily wages by working extra time in the early morning. But several families were thereby thrown out of employment. Accordingly the guild met, and decided that as there was not employment for all, no man should be allowed to work extra time.

Working
of the
trade-
guild.

The decisions of the guild are enforced by fines. If the offender refuses to pay, and the members of the guild all belong to one caste, the offender is put out of caste. If the guild contains men of different castes, the guild uses its influence with other guilds to prevent the recusant member from getting work. The guild also acts in its corporate capacity against other crafts. For example, in 1872, the Ahmadábád cloth-dealers resolved among themselves to reduce the rates paid to the sizers or *tágiás*. The sizers' guild refused to prepare cloth at the lower rates, and remained six weeks on strike. At length a compromise was arrived at, and both guilds signed a stamped agreement.

An Indian
'strike.'

Guild
funds.

Besides its punitive fines, the guild draws an income from fees levied on persons beginning to practise its craft. This custom prevails at Ahmadábád in the cloth and other industries. But no fee is paid by potters, carpenters, and inferior artisans. An exception is made, too, in the case of a son succeeding to his father, when nothing need be paid. In other cases, the amount varies, in proportion to the importance of the trade, from £5 to £50. The revenue from these fees and from punitive fines is expended in feasts to the members of the guild, in the support of poor craftsmen or their orphans, and in charity. A favourite device for raising money in Surat is for the members of a trade to agree to keep a certain date as a holiday, and to shut up all their shops except one. The right to keep open this one shop is let by auction, and the amount bid is credited to the guild-fund.

Guild
charities.

Trade-
interests &
caste :

Within the guild, the interests of the common trade often supersede the race element of the theoretically common caste. Thus, in Surat, each class of craftsmen, although including men

¹ See the article, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

of different castes and races, combine to form a guild, with a council, a head-man, and a common purse for charity and entertainments. In Ahmadábád, Broach, and many industrial centres, the trade organization into guilds co-exists with, or dominates, the race-structure of caste. A twofold organization also appears in the village community. Caste regulates the theoretical position of every family within it; but the low-castes often claim the headship in the village government.

In Báraśat Sub-district in Bengal, of 5818 enumerated Village Heads, only 15 were Bráhmans or Rájputs, 4 were Káyasths, while 3524 belonged to the Súdra or inferior castes, down to the detested cow-skinners and corpse-bearers; the residue being Muhammadans, with 13 native Christians. In Southern India, the Village Head is sometimes of so low a caste that he cannot sit under the same roof with his colleagues in the village government. He therefore hands up his staff, which is set in the place of honour, while he himself squats on the ground outside. The trade-guild in the cities, and the village community throughout the country, act, together with caste, as mutual assurance societies, and under normal conditions allow none of their members to starve. Caste, and the trading or agricultural guilds concurrent with it, take the place of a poor-law in India.

It is obvious that such an organization must have some weapons for defending itself against lazy or unworthy members. The responsibility which the caste discharges with regard to feeding its poor, would otherwise be liable to abuses. As a matter of fact, the caste or guild exercises a surveillance over each of its members, from the close of childhood until death. If a man behaves well, he will rise to an honoured place in his caste; and the desire for such local distinctions exercises an important influence in the life of a Hindu. But the caste has its punishments as well as its rewards. Those punishments consist of fine and excommunication. The fine usually takes the form of a compulsory feast to the male members of the caste. This is the ordinary means of purification, or of making amends for breaches of the caste code.

Excommunication inflicts three penalties: First, an interdict against eating with the fellow-members of the caste. Second, an interdict against marriage within the caste. This practically amounts to debarring the delinquent and his family from respectable marriages of any sort. Third, cutting off the delinquent from the general community, by forbidding him the use of the village barber and washerman, and of the

priestly adviser. Except in very serious cases, excommunication is withdrawn upon the submission of the offender, and his payment of a fine. Anglo-Indian law does not enforce caste-decrees. But caste punishments exercise an efficacious restraint upon unworthy members of the community, precisely as caste rewards supply a powerful motive of action to good ones. A member who cannot be controlled by this mixed discipline of punishment and reward is eventually expelled; and, as a rule, an 'out-caste' is really a bad man. Imprisonment in jail carries with it that penalty; but may be condoned after release, by heavy expiations.

Recapitulation of caste.

Such is a brief survey of the nature and operation of caste. But the cross-divisions on which the institution rests; its conflicting principles of classification according to race, employment, and locality; the influence of Islām in Northern India; of the 'right-handed' and 'left-handed' branches in the South;¹ and the modifications everywhere effected by social or sectarian movements, render a short account of caste full of difficulties.

The religious basis of Hinduism.

Hinduism is, however, not only a social organization resting upon caste; it is also a religious federation based upon worship. As the various race elements of the Indian people have been welded into caste, so the simple old beliefs of the Veda, the mild doctrines of Buddha, and the fierce rites of the non-Aryan tribes have been thrown into the melting-pot, and poured out thence as a mixture of alloy and dross to be worked up into the Hindu gods. In the religious as in the social structure, the Bráhmans supplied the directing brain-power. But both processes resulted from laws of human evolution, deeper than the workings of any individual will; and in both, the product has been, not an artificial manufacture, but a natural development. Hinduism merely forms one link in the golden chain of Indian religions. We have seen that the career of Buddha was but a combination of the ascetic and the heroic Aryan life as recorded in the Indian epics. Indeed, the discipline of the Buddhists organized so faithfully the prescribed stages of a Bráhman's existence, that it is difficult to decide whether the *Sarmanai* of Megasthenes were Buddhist clergy or Bráhman recluses. If accurate scholarship cannot accept Buddhism as simply the Sánkhyā philosophy turned into a national religion, it admits that Buddhism is a natural development from Bráhmanism. An early set of

Its stages of evolution.

¹ See Crole's *Statistical Account of Chingleput District*, pp. 33, 34 (1879).

intermediate links is found in the *darsanas*, or philosophical systems, between the Vedic period and the establishment of Buddhism as a national religion under Asoka (1400? to 250 B.C.). A later set is preserved in the compromises effected during the final struggle between Buddhism and Bráhmaism, ending in the re-assertion of the latter in its new form as the religion of the Hindus (700 to 1000 A.D.).

Buddhism not only breathed into the new birth its noble spirit of charity, but bequeathed to Hinduism many of its institutions unimpaired, together with its scheme of religious life, and the material fabric of its worship. At this day, the *maháján* or bankers' guild, in Surat, devotes part of the fees that it levies on bills of exchange to animal hospitals; true survivals of Asoka's second edict, which provided a system of medical aid for beasts, 250 years before Christ. The cenobitic life, and the division of the people into laity and clergy, have passed almost unchanged from Buddhism into the present Hindu sects, such as the Vaishnavs or Vishnuites.

Buddhist influences on Hinduism.

Beast hospitals.

The Hindu monasteries in our own day vie with the Buddhist convents in the reign of Siláditya; and Purí is, in many respects, a modern unlettered Nalanda. The religious houses of the Orissa delta, with their revenue of £50,000 a year,¹ are but Hindu developments of the Buddhist cells and rock-monasteries, whose remains still honeycomb the adjacent hills.

Monasteries.

If we examine the religious life of the Vishnuite communities, we find their rules are Buddhistic, with Bráhmaical reasons attached. Thus the moral code of the Kabír-panthís consists of five rules:² First, life, whether of man or beast, must not be violated; because it is the gift of God. Second, humanity is the cardinal virtue; and the shedding of blood, whether of man or beast, a heinous crime. Third, truth is the great principle of conduct; because all the ills of life and ignorance of God are due to original falsehood (*máyá*). Fourth, retirement from the world is desirable; because the desires of the world are hostile to tranquillity of soul, and to the undisturbed meditation on God. Fifth, obedience to the spiritual guide is incumbent on all. This last rule is common to every sect of the Hindus. But the Kabír-panthís direct the pupil to examine well his teacher's life and doctrine before

The religious life.

¹ Report by the Committee of native gentlemen appointed to inquire into the Orissa *maths*, dated 25th March 1869, par. 15.

² H. H. Wilson's *Religion of the Hindus*, vol. i. p. 94 (ed. 1862).

he resigns himself to his control. If we did not know that Buddhism was itself an outgrowth from primitive Bráhmaism, we might hold this code to be simple Buddhism, with the addition of a personal God. But knowing, as we do, that Bráhmaism and Buddhism were themselves closely connected, and that they combined to form Hinduism; it is impossible to discriminate how far Hinduism was made up by direct transmission from Buddhism or from Bráhmaism.

Buddhist
influences
on later
religions.

The influence of Buddhism on the Christianity of the western world has been referred to at p. 152. Whatever uncertainties may still obscure that question, the effect of Buddhism upon the present faiths of Eastern Asia admits of no doubt. The best elements in the teaching of Buddha have survived in modern Hinduism; and Buddhism carried with it essential doctrines of Bráhmaism to China and Japan, together with certain characteristics of Indian religious art. The snake ornamentation, which figures so universally in the religion of India, is said to have been carried by Buddhism alike to the east and the west. Thus, the canopy or baldachino over Buddha's head delights in twisted pillars and wavy patterns. These wave-like ornaments are conventionalized into cloud curves in most of the Chinese and Japanese canopies; but some of them still exhibit the original figures thus symbolized as undulating serpents or Nágas. A serpent baldachino of this sort may be seen in a monastery at Ningpo.¹ It takes the place of the cobra-headed canopy, which in India shelters the head of Siva, or of Vishnu as he slept upon the waters at the creation of the world. The twisted columns which support the baldachino at St. Peter's in Rome, and the fluted ornamentation so common over Protestant pulpits, are said to have a serpentine origin, and an eastern source. The association of Buddha with two other figures, in the Japanese temples, perhaps represents a recollection of the Bráhma triad. The Bráhmaical idea of trinity, in its Buddhist development as Buddha, Dharma (the Law), and Sangha (the Congregation), deeply penetrates the faith. The Sacred Tooth of Buddha at Ceylon is a reproduction of the phallic *linga* of India.

Serpent
ornamen-
tation :

In
Hinduism;

In
Buddhism;

In Chris-
tian art.

Coalition
of Buddh-
ism with
earlier
religions :

Buddhism readily coalesced with the pre-existing religions of primitive races. Thus, among the hill tribes of Eastern Bengal, we see the Khyangthas, or 'Children of the River,'

¹ The authority for this statement is an unpublished drawing by Miss Gordon Cumming.

passing into Buddhists without giving up their aboriginal rites. In India ; They still offer rice and fruits and flowers to the spirits of hill and stream ;¹ and the Buddhist priests, although condemning the custom as unorthodox, do not very violently oppose it. In Japan, a Buddhist saint visited the hill-slope of Hotoke Iwa in 767 A.D. ; declared the local Shinto deity to be only a manifestation of Buddha ; and so converted the old idolatrous high-place into a Buddhist shrine. Buddhism has thus served as a link between the ancient faiths of India and the modern worship of the eastern world. It has given sanctity to the centres of common pilgrimage, to which the great faiths of Asia resort. Thus, the Siva-worshippers ascend the top of Adam's Peak in Ceylon, to adore the footprint of their phallic god, the *Sivapada* ; the Buddhists repair to the spot to revere the same symbol as the footmark of Buddha ; and the Muhammadans venerate it as a relic of Adam, the Semitic father of mankind.

In Japan.

Shrines common to various faiths.

Adam's Peak.

Many common shrines of a similar character exist in India. The famous place of pilgrimage at Sakhi Sarwar crowns the high bank of a hill stream at the foot of the Suláimán range, in the midst of desert scenery, well adapted to penitents who would mortify the flesh. To this remote spot, the Muhammadans come in honour of a Musalmán saint ; the Sikhs to venerate a memorial of their theistic founder, Nának ; and the Hindus to perform their own ablutions and rites. The mount near Madras, associated in Catholic legend with the martyrdom of St. Thomas, was originally a common hill-shrine for Muhammadans, Christians, and Hindus. Such hill-shrines for joint worship are usually either rock-fortresses, like Kalinjar in the North-Western Provinces and Chunar overhanging the Ganges, or river-islands, like the beautiful islet on the Indus just below the new railway bridge at Sakkar. The object of common adoration is frequently a footmark in stone. This the Hindus venerate as the footprint of Vishnu or Siva (*Vishnupad* or *Sivapad*) ; while the Musalmáns revere it as the footprint of Muhammad (*Kadam-rasul*). The mingled architecture of some of these pilgrim-sites attests the various races and creeds that combined to give them sanctity. Buddhism, which in some respects was at first a revolt against Bráhma supremacy, has done much to maintain the continuity between the ancient and the modern religions of India.

Sakhi Sarwar.

Hinduism, however, derived its elements not merely from

¹ See Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. vi. p. 40, etc.

Non-Aryan elements in Hinduism. the two ancient Aryan faiths, the Bráhmancial and the Buddhist. In its popular aspects, it drew much of its strength, and many of its rites, from the Nágá and other non-Aryan peoples of India. Buddhists and Bráhmans alike endeavoured, during their long struggle, to enlist the masses on their side. The Nágá kingdoms were divided, as we have seen, by the Chinese geographers into those which had accepted Buddhism, and those which had not. A chief feature in Nágá-rites. in Nágá-worship was the reverence for dragons or tailed monsters. This reverence found its way into mediæval Buddhism, and became an important element in Buddhist mythology. The historian of Tree and Serpent worship goes so far as to say that 'Buddhism was little more than a revival of the coarser superstitions of the aboriginal races, purified and refined by the application of Aryan morality.'¹

Serpent-worship in Hinduism.

The great monastery of Nalanda owed its foundation to the supposed influence of a tailed monster, or Nágá, in a neighbouring tank. Many Hindu temples still support colonies of sacred crocodiles; and the scholar who has approached the subject from the Chinese point of view, comes to the conclusion that 'no superstition was more deeply embedded in the [ancient] Hindu mind than reverence for Nágás or dragons. Buddhism from the first had to contend as much against the under current of Nágá reverence in the popular mind, as against the supercilious opposition of the philosophic Bráhman in the upper current. At last, as it would seem, driven to an extremity by the gathering cloud of persecution, the Buddhists sought escape by closing with the popular creed, and endeavouring to enlist the people against the priests; but with no further success than such a respite as might be included within some one hundred years.'²

Phallic emblems in Hinduism.

This conception of the process is coloured by modern ideas, but there can be no doubt that Hinduism incorporated many aboriginal rites. It had to provide for the non-Aryan as well as for the Aryan elements of the population, and it combined the Bráhmanism and Buddhism of the Aryans with the fetish-worship and religion of terror which swayed the non-Aryan races. Some of its superstitions seem to have been brought by Turanian or Scythian migrations from Central Asia. Serpent-worship is closely allied to, if indeed it does

¹ Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pp. 62, with footnote, *et seq.* (4to, 1868). This view must be taken subject to limitations.

² *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, pp. 415, 416. By Samuel Beal (Trübner, 1871).

PHALLIC EMBLEMS.

not take its origin in, that reverence for the symbol of reproduction which formed one of the most important religions of pre-historic man. Phallic or gnostic symbols are on earth what the sun is in the heavens. The type of celestial creative energy, was a primary object of adoration. Later Bráhmaism, and other religions seem to have adopted not only the symbol of *yonis*, or the terrestrial creative energy, from the non-phallic, but the Vedas was a worship of Fire.

The worship of the phallic symbol is a doubtful speculation, but the fact that the Mother is only a symbol of the universal creative energy, is a fact which we cannot deny.

RISE OF HINDUISM.

rm of a rude unhewn stone, or a stump, or a
red-lead. Sometimes a lump of clay placed
for a deity; and the attendant priest,
generally belongs to the half-Hinduized
stone represents the non-Aryan fetish;
its sanctity to the non-Aryan belief
ghosts, or gods, of the village.
hamlets, the worshippers
may not, by any evil
spirits happen to
by Hindu-
producer,
for the
often
the
n.

feed on swine-flesh, which at all other times they regard with abhorrence.

The ceremonies, where they can pretend to a conscious meaning, have a propitiatory or necromantic tinge. Thus, in Bírbbúm District the mixed and low castes of the chief town repair once a year to the jungle, and make offerings to a ghost who dwells in a *bel*-tree. Buchanan-Hamilton describes such sacrifices as 'made partly from fear, and partly to gratify the appetite for flesh.'¹ In examining the western ethnical frontier of Lower Bengal, the rites of the non-Aryan hillmen are found to merge into the Hinduism of the plains.² The evidence shows that the Hindus derived from non-Aryan sources their phallic emblem, the *linga*, their household fetish, the *sálagráma*, their village gods, *gráma-devatas*, with the ghosts and demons that haunt so many trees, and the bloody rites of their national deity, Siva. Among the Hindus, these superstitions are often isolated and unconnected with each other; among the Santáls and other non-Aryan races, they form riveted links in a ritual of fear and propitiation.

The development of Hinduism out of pre-existing religious types, although a natural evolution, bears the impress of human guidance. Until the 12th century A.D., the Bráhmans supplied the directing energy in opposition to the Buddhists, and founded their reforms on a re-assertion of the personality of God. But by that period, Buddhism had ceased to struggle for a separate existence in India; and the mass of the people began to strike out religious sects upon popular rather than on Bráhmanical lines. The work of the early Bráhman reformers was accordingly carried on after the 12th century, in part by low-caste apostles, who popularized the old Bráhmanical conception of a personal God, by infusing into it the Buddhist doctrine of the spiritual equality of man. Many of the Hindu sects form brotherhoods, on the Buddhist model, within which the classification by caste gives place to one based on the various degrees of perfection attained in the religious life.

Most of the Hindu reformations since the 12th century thus preserve what was best in each of the two ancient faiths of India—namely, the personal God of the Bráhmans, and the spiritual equality of the Buddhists. Among the Hindus, every preacher who would really appeal to the

¹ *History, etc. of Eastern India*, from the Buchanan MSS., vol. i. p. 194.

² Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 194, 5th edition.

popular heart must fulfil two conditions, and conform to a certain type. He must cut himself off from the world by a solemn act, like the Great Renunciation of Buddha; and he must come forth from his solemn communing with a simple message. The message need not be original. On the contrary, it must consist of a re-assertion, in some form, of the personality of God and the equality of men in His sight.

The Hindu
Acta Sancto-
rum.

Hinduism boasts a line of religious founders stretching in almost unbroken succession from about 700 A.D. to the present day. The lives of the mediæval saints and their wondrous works are recorded in the *Bhakta-Málá*, literally, 'The Garland of the Faithful,' compiled by Nábhájí about three centuries ago.¹ This difficult Hindí work was popularized by later versions and commentaries,² and a vast structure of miracle and fable has been reared upon it. It is the Golden Legend and *Acta Sanctorum* of Hinduism. The same wonders are not recorded of each of its apostles, but divine interpositions abound in the life of all. The greater ones rank as divine incarnations prophesied of old. Some were born of virgins; others overcame lions; raised the dead; their hands and feet when cut off sprouted afresh; prisons were opened to them; the sea received them and returned them to the land unhurt, while the earth opened and swallowed up their slanderers. Their lives were marvellous, and the deaths of some a solemn mystery.

Miracles
of the
religious
founders.

Kabír's
death.

Thus on Kabír's decease, both the Hindus and Musalmáns claimed the body, the former to burn it, the latter to bury it, according to their respective rites. While they wrangled over the corpse, Kabír suddenly stood in the midst, and, commanding them to look under the shroud, vanished. This they did. But under the winding-sheet they found only a heap of beautiful flowers, one-half of which they gave to be burned by the Hindus in their holy city, while the other half was buried in pomp by the Musalmáns. His name lives in the memory of the people; and to this day pilgrims from Upper India beg a spoonful of rice-water from the Kabír Monastery at Purí, at the extreme southern point of Bengal.

¹ H. H. Wilson, writing in the *Asiatic Researches* (Calcutta, 1828), says about '250 years ago.'—See *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society*, vol. iii. p. 4.

² The best known are those of Náráyan Dás, about the time of Sháh Jahán (1627-58); the *úlká* of Krishna Dás (1713); and a later version 'in the more ordinary dialect of Hindustán.'—Wilson's *Religions of the Hindus*, vol. i. pp. 9, 10 (ed. 1862).

The first in the line of apostles was Kumārila, a *bhatta* or Kumārila Brāhman of Behar. The legend relates that he journeyed into Southern India, in the 8th century A.D., commanding princes and people to worship one God. He stirred up a persecution against the Buddhists or Jains in the State of Rudrapur,—a local persecution which later tradition magnified into a general extermination of the Buddhists from the Himālayas to Cape Comorin.¹ In Hindu theology he figures as a teacher of the later Mīmāṃsā philosophy, which ascribes the universe to a divine act of creation, and assumes an all-powerful God as the cause of the existence, continuance, and dissolution of the world. The doctrine of this personal deity, 'the one existent and universal soul,' 'without a second' (*advaita*), embodies the philosophical argument against the Buddhists. Kumārila bequeathed his task to his famous disciple Sankara Achārya, in whose presence he is said to have solemnly committed his body to the flames.

With the advent of Sankara Achārya we touch firmer historical ground. Born in Malabar, he wandered over India as an itinerant preacher as far north as Kashmīr, and died at Kedarnāth in the Himālayas, aged 32. One of his disciples has narrated his life's work under the title of 'The Victory of Sankara,'² a record of his doctrines and controversial triumphs. Sankara moulded the later Mīmāṃsā or Vedantic philosophy into its final form, and popularized it as a national religion. It is scarcely too much to say that, since his short life in the 8th or 9th century, every new Hindu sect has had to start with a personal God. He addressed himself to the high-caste philosophers on the one hand, and to the low-caste multitude on the other. He left behind, as the twofold result of his life's work, a compact Brāhman sect and a popular religion.

The Brāhman sect are the Smārtas, still powerful in Southern India. Sankara taught that there was one sole and supreme God, *Brāhma Para Brāhma*, distinct alike from any member of the old Brāhman triad, or of the modern Hindu pantheon; the

Kumārila
Bhatta,
750 (?) A.D.

Sankara
Achārya,
9th cen-
tury A.D.

His two-
fold work.

His sect of
Smārta
Brāhman.

¹ The local persecution is recorded by Ananda Giri, a disciple of Sankara about the 8th or 9th century A.D., and the author of the *Sankara-Vijaya*. The magnified version appears in the *Sarva Darsana Sangraha* of Mādhava Achārya, in the 14th century. See, however, the Mackenzie mss. in the India Office Library.

² The *Sankara-Vijaya* of Ananda Giri, published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, and critically examined by Kāshināth Trimbak Telang in vol. v. of the *Indian Antiquary*. But, indeed, Sankara is the first great figure in almost every Hindu hagiology, or book of saints, from the *Sarva Darsana Sangraha* of Mādhava Achārya downwards.

His religion for the people.

Ruler of the universe and its inscrutable First Cause, to be worshipped, not by sacrifices, but by meditation, and in spirit and in truth. The Smárta Bráhmans follow this philosophic side of his teaching; and of the religious houses which he founded some remain to this day, controlled from the parent monastery perched among the western ranges of Mysore.¹ But Sankara realized that such a faith is for the few. To those who could not rise to so high a conception of the godhead, he allowed the practice of any rites prescribed by the Veda, or by later orthodox teachers, to whatsoever form of the godhead they might be addressed. Tradition fondly narrates that the founders of almost all the historical sects of Hinduism—Sivaites, Vishnuites, Sauras, Sáktas, Gánapatyas, Bhairavas—were his disciples.² But Siva-worship claims Sankara as its apostle in a special sense. Siva-worship represents the popular side of his teaching, and the piety of his followers has elevated Sankara into an incarnation of Siva himself.³

Growth of Siva-worship;

Nothing, however, is altogether new in Hinduism, and it is needless to say that Siva had won his way high up into the pantheon long before the preaching of Sankara, in the 9th century A.D. Siva is the Rudra of the Vedas, as developed by Bráhman philosophy, and adapted by Sankara and others to popular worship. Rudra, the Storm-God of the Vedic hymns, had grown during this process into Siva, the Destroyer and Reproducer, as the third person of the Bráhman triad. The Chinese pilgrims supply evidence of his worship before the 7th century A.D., while his dread wife had a temple at the southernmost point of India at the time of the Periplus (2nd century A.D.), and gave her name to Cape Comorin.⁴ Siva ranks high in the Mahábhárata, in various passages of uncertain date; but does not reach his full development till the Puránas, probably after the 10th century A.D. His worship in Bengal is said to have been formulated by Paramata Kálanála at Benares;⁵ but Sankara's teaching gave an impulse to it

¹ See SRINGIRI (*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*) for a brief account of the chief-priest of the Smárta sect, which has its head-quarters in this monastery. Also the *Statistical Account of Mysore and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, vol. ii. p. 413, etc. (Bangalore Government Press, 1876.)

² Wilson's *Religion of the Hindus*, vol. i. p. 28 (1862).

³ This rank is claimed for Sankara by Mádhava Achárya in the 14th century A.D.; indeed, Siva's descent as Sankara is said to have been foretold in the *Skanda Purána*. Sankara is one of the names of Siva.

⁴ From Kumári or Kanyá-kumári, the Virgin Goddess, a name of Durgá, wife of Siva.

⁵ As Visweswara, or Lord of the Universe, under which name Siva is still the chief object of worship at Benares.

throughout all India, especially in the south ; and later tradition makes Paramata himself a disciple of Sankara.

In the hands of Sankara's followers and apostolic successors, Siva-worship became one of the two chief religions of India. As at once the Destroyer and Reproducer, Siva represented profound philosophical doctrines, and was early recognised as being in a special sense the god of the Bráhmans.¹ To them he was the symbol of death as merely a change of life. On the other hand, his terrible aspects, preserved in his long list of names from the Roarer (Rudra)² of the Veda, to the Dread One (Bhíma) of the modern Hindu Pantheon, well adapted him to the religion of fear and propitiation prevalent among the ruder non-Aryan races. Siva, in his twofold character, thus became the deity alike of the highest and of the lowest castes. He is the Mahá-deva, or Great God of modern Hinduism ; and his wife is Deví, pre-eminently THE Goddess. His universal symbol is the *linga*, the emblem of reproduction ; his sacred beast, the bull, connected with the same idea ; a trident tops his temples.

Its philosophical aspects ;

Its terrible forms.

His images partake of his double nature. The Bráhmanical conception is represented by his attitude as a fair-skinned man, seated in profound thought, the symbol of the fertilizing Ganges above his head, and the bull (emblem alike of procreation and of Aryan plough-tillage) near at hand. The wilder non-Aryan aspects of his character are signified by his necklace of skulls, his collar of twining serpents, his tiger-skin, and his club with a human head at the end. His five faces and four arms have also their significance from this double aspect of his character, Aryan and non-Aryan. His wife, in like manner, appears in her Aryan form as Umá, ' Light,' the type of high-born loveliness ; in her composite character as Durgá, a golden-coloured woman, beautiful but menacing, riding on a tiger ; and in her terrible non-Aryan aspects, as Kálí, a black fury, of a hideous countenance, dripping with blood, crowned with snakes, and hung round with skulls.

Twofold aspects of Siva,

and of Durgá, his queen.

As an Aryan deity, Siva is Pasu-pati, the Lord of Animals and the Protector of Cows ; Sambhu, the Auspicious ; Mrityunjaya, the Vanquisher of Death ; Viswanátha, Monarch of All. In his non-Aryan attributes, he is Aghora, the Horrible ; Virúpáksha, of Mis-shapen Eyes ; Ugra, the Fierce ; Kapála-málin,

Their twofold sets of names.

¹ A Sanskrit text declares Siva to be the *ddideva*, or special god of the Bráhmans ; Vishnu, of the Kshattriyas ; Brahma, of the Vaisyas ; and Ganesa, of the Súdras.

² From the root *rud*, weep.

Garlanded with Skulls. So also Devī, his female form, as an Aryan goddess is Umā, the lovely daughter of the mountain king, Himavat;¹ Aryā, the Revered; Gaurī, the Brilliant or Gold-coloured; Jagad-gaurī, the World's Fair One; Bhavānī, the Source of Existence; and Jagan-mātā, the Mother of the Universe. Her non-Aryan attributes appear in her names of Kālī or Syāmā, the Black One; Chandī, the Fierce; Bhairavī, the Terrible; Rakta-dantī, the Bloody-Toothed.

Twofold
aspects of
Siva-
worship.

Human
offerings,
1866.

The ritual of Siva-worship preserves, in an even more striking way, the traces of its double origin. The higher minds still adore the Godhead by silent contemplation, as prescribed by Sankara, without the aid of external rites. The ordinary Brāhman hangs a wreath of blossoms around the phallic *linga*, or places before it offerings of flowers and rice. But the low-castes pour out the lives of countless victims at the feet of the terrible Kālī, and until lately, in time of pestilence and famine, tried in their despair to appease the relentless goddess by human blood. During the dearth of 1866, in a temple to Kālī within 100 miles of Calcutta, a boy was found with his neck cut, the eyes staring open, and the stiff clotted tongue thrust out between the teeth. In another temple at Húgli (a railway station only 25 miles from Calcutta), the head was left before the idol, decked with flowers.² Such cases are true survivals of the regular system of human sacrifices which we have seen among the non-Aryan tribes.³ They have nothing to do with the old mystic *purusha-medha* or man-offering, whether real or symbolical, of the ancient Aryan faith;⁴ but they form an essential part of the non-Aryan religion of terror, which demands that the greater the need, the greater shall be the propitiation.

Garlands
of skulls.

Such sacrifices are now forbidden, alike by Hindu custom and English law. H. H. Wilson found evidence that they were regularly offered by the Kápālika sect of Sivaite Hindus eight centuries ago; and representatives of those

¹ Monarch of the Himālayas.

² The Calcutta *Englishman* of 19th May 1866; *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 128, 5th edition.

³ As among the Kandhs, *ante*, chap. iii.

⁴ See: Dr. Haug's *Origin of Brāhmanism*, p. 5 (Poona, 1863). The Purusha-sukta of the *Rig Veda*, x. 90, verses 7-15; and the Purusha-medha of the *Satapatha Brāhmana*, i. 2, 3, 6, and xiii. 6, i. 1; and of the *Aitareya Brāhmana*, ii. 8, with other passages quoted throughout Dr. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, seem to have an allegorical and mystical significance, rather than to refer to a real sacrifice. See also Wilson's Essay on Human Sacrifices, *Journal Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. viii. p. 96 (1852).

hideous votaries of Siva, 'smeared with ashes from the funeral pile, and their necks hung round with human skulls,' survive to this day.¹ Colonel Keatinge mentions that he has seen old sacrificial troughs near Jáintiapur, now used only for goats, which exactly fitted the size of a man. The new troughs are reduced to the dimensions of the animals at present offered; and the greater length of the ancient ones is explained by a legend of human sacrifices. The Statistical Survey of India has brought to light many traditions of such offerings. The hill tribes between Sylhet and Assam hunt a monkey at sowing-time, and crucify it on the margin of the village lands, apparently as a substitute for the Spring man-sacrifice.² A human life was sometimes devoted to the preservation of an artificial lake, or of a river embankment; a watchman of aboriginal descent being sacrificed,³ or a virgin princess walled up in the breach.⁴

Animals substituted for human offering.

Another Sivaite festival was the Charak-Pujá, or Hook-Swinging Festival, during which men were suspended from a pole by a hook thrust through the muscles of the back, and then swung in the air, in honour of Kálí. In 1863, the orders of Government for abolishing this festival were carried out in a border District, Bírbhúm, lying between the Hindu plains and the non-Aryan highlands. The low-castes, in reality semi-aborigines, and only half-Hinduized, assembled round the poles and foretold famine from the loss of their old propitiatory rites. As they thought the Spring ceremonies absolutely essential before commencing tillage, the British officer suggested they might swing a man by a rope round his waist instead of with a hook through his back. This compromise was accepted by some, but the better-informed cultivators gloomily assured the officer that the ceremonies would have no good effect on the crops without the spilling of blood.⁵

The Charak-Pujá.

The thirteen chief sects of Siva-worshippers faithfully represent the composite character of their god. Sankara left behind him a succession of teachers, many of whom rose to the rank of religious founders. The *Smárta* Bráhmans still maintain their life of calm monastic piety. The *Dandís*,

The thirteen Sivaite sects.

¹ H. H. Wilson's *Religion of the Hindus*, vol. i. p. 264.

² As among the Kandhs, *ante*, chap. iii.

³ See SAKRAYPATNA, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

⁴ See ANANTASAGARAM, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

⁵ It is right to say that very little blood was lost, and the wounds caused were slight; indeed, slighter than those sometimes left behind by the skewers which were fixed through the cheek or tongue of the swinger during the performance.

or ascetics, divide their time between begging and meditation. Some of them adore, without rites, Siva as the third person of the Aryan triad. Others practise an apparently non-Aryan ceremony of initiation by drawing blood from the inner part of the novice's knee, as an offering to the god in his more terrible form, Bhairava. The *Dandīs* follow the non-Aryan custom of burying their dead, or commit the body to some sacred stream.¹ The *Yogīs* include every class of devotee, from the speechless mystic who, by long suppressions of the breath, loses the consciousness of existence in an unearthly union with Siva, to the impostor who sits upon air, and the juggler who travels with a performing goat. The thirteen Sivaite sects descend, through various gradations of self-mortification and abstraction, to the *Aghorīs*, whose abnegation extends to eating carrion, or even human corpses, and gashing their own bodies with knives.

Gradations
of Siva-
worship.

Sivaite
corpse-
eaters.

Within the last few years a small Aghorī community took up their abode in a deserted building on the top of a mount near Ujjain. To inspire terror and respect, they descended to the burning *ghāt*, snatched the charred bodies from the funeral pile, and retreated with them to their hill. The horror-stricken mourners complained to the local officer of the Mahārājā Sindhia, but did not dare to defend their dead against the squalid ministers of Siva. In the end, the Mahārājā's officer, by ensuring a regular supply of food for the devotees, put a stop to their depredations.

Non-
Aryan
types,
spiritual-
ized by the

The lowest Sivaite sects follow non-Aryan rather than Aryan types, alike as regards their use of animal food and their bloody worship. These non-Aryan types are, however, spiritualized into a mystic symbolism by the Sivaite *Sāktas*, or worshippers of the creative energy in nature (*Sakti*). The 'right-hand' adorers² follow the Aryan ritual, with the addition of an offering of blood.³ Their *Tantras* or religious works take the form of a dialogue between Siva and his lovely Aryan bride,⁴ in which the god teaches her the true forms of prayer and ceremonial. But the 'left-hand' worship⁵ is an organized five-fold ritual, of incantation, lust, gluttony, drunkenness, and blood. The non-Aryan origin of these secret rites is attested

Sākta or
Tantrik
sect.

¹ Cf. the Santāls and the Dāmodar river, *ante*, chap. iii.

² Dakshinas or Bhāktas.

³ The *bali*.

⁴ Usually in the form of Umā or Pārvatī.

⁵ Vāmis or Vāmācharīs, whose worship comprises the five-fold Makāra, 'which taketh away all sin,' namely—*mānsa* (flesh), *matsya* (fish, the symbol of ovarian fertility), *madya* (intoxicating spirits), *maithuna* (sexual intercourse), *mudrā* (mystical gesticulations).

by the use of meats and drinks forbidden to all respectable Hindus ; perhaps also by the community of women, possibly an unconscious survival of the non-Aryan forms of polyandry and primitive marriage by capture.¹ The Kāñchuliyas, one of the lowest of the Sivaite sects, not only enforce a community of women, but take measures to prevent the exercise of individual selection, and thus leave the matter entirely to divine chance. Even their orgies, however, are spiritualized into a mystic symbolism ; and the Dread Goddess surely punishes the votary who enters on them merely to gratify his lusts.

Siva-worship thus became a link between the highest and the lowest castes of Hindus. Vishnu, the second person of the Aryan triad, supplied a religion for the intermediate classes. Siva, as a philosophical conception of the Bráhmans, afforded small scope for legend ; and the atrocities told of him and his wife in their terrible forms, as adapted to the non-Aryan masses, were little capable of refined literary treatment. But Vishnu, the Preserver, furnished a congenial theme for sacred romance. His religion appealed, not to the fears, but to the hopes of mankind. Siva-worship combined the Bráhmanical doctrine of a personal God with non-Aryan bloody rites ; Vishnu-worship, in its final form as a popular religion, represents the coalition of the same Bráhmanical doctrine of a personal God, with the Buddhist principle of the spiritual equality of man.

Vishnu had always been a very human god, from the time when he makes his appearance in the Veda as a solar myth, the 'Unconquerable Preserver' striding across the universe in three steps.² His later incarnations made him the familiar friend of man. Of these 'descents'³ on earth, ten or twenty-two in number, Vishnu-worship, with the unerring instinct of

¹ Cf. also the festival of the *Rukmīnī-haran-ekādāśī* at Puri. See Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. i. p. 131.

² Probably at first connected with the rising, zenith, and setting of the sun in his daily course.

³ *Avatāras*. The ten chief ones are : (1) the Fish incarnation ; (2) the Tortoise, (3) the Boar, (4) the Man-Lion, (5) the Dwarf, (6) Parasu-rāma or Rāma with the Axe, (7) Rāma or Rāma-chandra, (8) Krishna, (9) Buddha, and (10) Kalki, the White Horse, yet to come. The first four are mythological beasts, perhaps representing the progress of animal life through the eras of fishes, reptiles, and mammals, developing into half-formed man. From another aspect, the Fish represents the *yoni*, or ovarian fertility ; the Tortoise, the *linga* ; the Boar, the terrestrial fertilizer ; and the Man-Lion, the celestial. These four appeared in the Satya Yuga, an

Secret
orgies.

Siva and
Vishnu
compared.

Vishnu
always a
friendly
god.

Vishnu as
a hero.

His later
develop-
ments.

a popular religion, chose the two most beautiful and most human for adoration. As Rāma and Krishna, Vishnu attracted to himself innumerable loving legends. Rāma, his seventh incarnation, was the hero of the Sanskrit epic, the Rāmāyana. In his eighth incarnation, as Krishna, Vishnu becomes the high-souled prince of the other epic, the Mahābhārata; he afterwards grew into the central figure of Indian pastoral poetry; was spiritualized into the supreme god of the Vishnuite Purānas; and now flourishes as the most popular deity of the Hindus.

The worship of Vishnu, in one phase or another, is the religion of the bulk of the middle classes; with its roots deep down in beautiful forms of non-Aryan nature-worship, and its top sending forth branches among the most refined Brāhmans and literary sets. It is a religion in all things graceful. Its gods are heroes or bright friendly beings, who walk and converse with men. Its legends breathe an almost Hellenic beauty. The pastoral simplicities and exquisite ritual of Vishnu belong to a later age than Siva-worship, with its pandering to the grosser superstitions of the masses. Whatever may be the philosophical priority of the two creeds, Vishnuism made its popular conquests at a later period than Sivaite rites.

The
Vishnu
Purāna,
circa. 1045
A.D.

In the 11th century, the Vishnuite doctrines were gathered into a religious treatise. The *Vishnu Purāna* dates from about 1045 A.D.,¹ and probably represents, as indeed its name implies, 'ancient' traditions which had co-existed with Sivaism and Buddhism for centuries. It derived its doctrines from the Vedas, not, however, in a direct channel, but filtered through the two great epic poems, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. The *Vishnu Purāna* forms one of the eighteen Purānas or Sanskrit theological works, in which the Brāhman moulders of Vishnuism and Sivaism embodied their rival systems. These works especially extol the second and third members of the Hindu triad, now claiming the pre-eminence for Vishnu

The
eighteen
Purānas.

astronomical period anterior to the present world. The fifth or dwarf incarnation represents early man in the Treta Yuga, or second astronomical period, also long anterior to the present mundane one. The next three incarnations represent the Heroic Age; the ninth or Buddha, the Religious Age. The tenth stands for the end of all things, according to the Hindu apocalypse, when Vishnu shall appear on a white horse, a drawn sword, blazing like a comet, in his hand, for the destruction of the wicked and the renovation of the world. The *Bhāgavata Purāna* gives twenty-two incarnations of Vishnu.

¹ Preface to the *Vishnu Purāna*. H. H. Wilson, p. cxii. (ed. 1864).

as the sole deity, and now for Siva; but in their higher flights rising to a recognition that both are but forms for representing the one eternal God. Their interminable dialogues are said to run to 1,600,000 lines.¹ But they exhibit only the Bráhmancial aspect of what were destined to become the two national faiths of India, and they are devoid of any genuine sympathy for the people.

The *Vishnu Purána* starts with an intolerance equal to that of the ancient code of Manu. It still declares the priests to have sprung from the mouth, and the low-castes from the feet, of God.² Its stately theogony disdains to touch the legends of the people. It declares, indeed, that there is One God; but He is the God of the Bráhmans, to whom He gives the earth as an inheritance, and in His eyes the ruder Indian races are as naught. This is the general tenor of its doctrines, although more enlightened, perhaps because later, passages occur. In the *Vishnu Purána*, Buddha is still an arch-heretic, who teaches the masses to despise the Veda, but whose disciples are eventually crushed by the bright Aryan gods. It is true that in the concluding book, when treating of the last Iron Age, to which this world has now come, some nobler idea of God's dealing with man gleams forth. In that time of universal dissolution and darkness, the sage consoles us with the assurance that devotion to Vishnu will suffice for salvation to all persons and to all castes.³

Vishnuism had to preach a different doctrine before it could become, as it has for ages been, a religion of the people. The first of the line of Vishnuite reformers was Rámánuja, a Bráhman of Southern India. In the middle of the 12th century, he led a movement against the Sivaites, proclaiming the unity of God, under the title of Vishnu, the Cause and the Creator of all things. Prosecuted by the Chola king, who tried to enforce Sivaité conformity throughout his dominions, Rámánuja fled to the Jain sovereign of Mysore. This prince he converted to the Vishnuite faith by expelling an evil spirit from his daughter. Seven hundred monasteries, of which four still remain, are said to have marked the spread of his doctrine before his death. Rámánuja accepted converts from every class, but it was reserved for his successors to formally enunciate the brotherhood of man.

At the end of the 13th century A.D., according to some

¹ Preface to the *Vishnu Purána*, p. xxiv. H. H. Wilson (ed. 1864).

² *Vishnu Purána*, lib. i. cap. vi. p. 89. H. H. Wilson (ed. 1864).

³ *Vishnu Purána*, lib. vi. cap. ii. H. H. Wilson, p. cxxxviii.

Bráhmancial Vishnuism, 1045 A.D.

Popular Vishnuism.

Rámánuja circ. 1150 A.D.

Rámánand,
1300-1400
A. D.

His low-
caste
disciples.

authorities, or at the end of the 14th, according to others, the great reformation, which made Vishnu-worship a national religion of India, took place. Rámánand stands fifth in the apostolic succession from Rámánuja, and spread his doctrine through Northern India. He had his head-quarters in a monastery at Benares, but wandered from place to place preaching the One God under the name of Vishnu, and choosing twelve disciples, not from the priests or nobles, but among the despised castes. One of them was a leather-dresser, another a barber, and the most distinguished of all was the reputed son of a weaver. The list shows that every caste found free entrance into the new creed.

The life of a disciple was no life of ease. He was called upon to forsake the world in a strictly literal sense, and to go about preaching or teaching, and living on alms. His old age found an asylum in some monastery of the brotherhood. Rámánuja had addressed himself chiefly to the pure Aryan castes, and wrote in the language of the Bráhmans. Rámánand appealed to the people, and the literature of his sect is in the dialects familiar to the masses. The Hindí vernacular owes its development into a written language, partly to the folk-songs of the peasantry and the war-ballads of the Rájput court-bards, but chiefly to the literary requirements of the new popular faith. Vishnuism has deeply impressed itself on the modern dialects of Northern India.¹

Kabír,
1380-1420
A. D.

His doc-
trines.

Kabír, one of the twelve disciples of Rámánand, carried his doctrines throughout Bengal. As his master had laboured to gather together all castes of the Hindus into one common faith, so Kabír, seeing that the Hindus were no longer the whole inhabitants of India, tried, about the beginning of the 15th century, to build up a religion that should embrace Hindu and Muhammadan alike. He rejected caste, denounced image-worship, and condemned the hypocrisy and arrogance of the Bráhmans. According to Kabír, the chief end of man is to obtain purity of life, and a perfect faith in God. The writings of his sect acknowledge that the god of the Hindu is also the god of the Musalmán. His universal name is The

¹ The three best known sets of such religious treatises are—(1) the voluminous works ascribed to Kabír (*circa*. 1400 A.D.) and his followers, preserved at the head-quarters of his sect, the *Kabír Chaurá* at Benares; (2) the *Granth*, or scriptures of various Bhágats or Vishnuite religious founders, especially of Dadú in Rájputána, and of the Sikh Gurús, beginning with Nának (1469); and (3) the *Bhaktamálá*, or Roll of the Bhaktas or apostles, the Golden Legend of Vishnuism already referred to.

Inner, whether He be invoked as the Alí of the Muhammadans, or as the Ráma of the Hindus. 'To Alí and to Ráma we owe our life,' say the scriptures of his sect,¹ 'and should show like tenderness to all who live. What avails it to wash your mouth, to count your beads, to bathe in holy streams, to bow in temples, if, whilst you mutter your prayers or journey on pilgrimage, deceitfulness is in your heart? The Hindu fasts every eleventh day; the Musalmán on the Ramazán. Who formed the remaining months and days, that you should venerate but one? If the Creator dwell in tabernacles, whose dwelling is the universe? The city of the Hindu god is to the east [Benares], the city of the Musalmán god is to the west [Mecca]; but explore your own heart, for there is the god, both of the Musalmáns and of the Hindus. Behold but One in all things. He to whom the world belongs, He is the father of the worshippers alike of Alí and of Ráma. He is my guide, He is my priest.'² Kabír was pre-eminently the Vishnuite apostle to Bengal; but his followers are also numerous in the Central Provinces, Gujarát, and the Deccan.

Coalition of Vishnuism with Islám, 1420 A.D.

The One God of both.

Kabír's teaching marks another great stride in the Vishnuite reformation. His master, Rámánand, had asserted an abstract equality of castes, because he identified the deity with the worshipper. He had regarded the devotee as but a manifestation of the divinity, and no lowness of birth could degrade the godhead. As Vishnu had taken the form of several of the inferior animals, such as the Boar and the Fish incarnations, so might he be born as a man of any caste. Kabír accepted this doctrine, but he warmed it by an intense humanity. All the chances and changes of life, the varied lot of man, his differences in religion, his desires, hopes, fears, loves, are but the work of *Máyá*, or illusion. To recognise the one Divine Spirit under these manifold illusions, is to obtain emancipation and the Rest of the Soul. That Rest is to be reached, not by burnt-offerings or sacrifices, but, according to Kabír, by faith (*bhakti*), by meditation on the Supreme, by keeping His holy names, Harí, Rám, Govínd, for ever on the lips and in the heart.

Brotherhood of man.

The Rest of the Soul.

Faith.

The labours of Kabír may be placed between 1380 and 1420 A.D. In 1486, Chaitanya was born, who spread the Vishnuite doctrines, under the worship of Jagannáth, throughout the deltas of Bengal and Orissa. Signs and wonders

Chaitanya, 1486-1527 A.D.

¹ The *Vijak* of Bhagodás, one of Kabír's disciples. The rival claims of the Hindus and Musalmáns to Kabír's body have already been mentioned.

² *Sabda*, lvi. Abridged from H. H. Wilson's Works, i. 81 (ed. 1864).

Chait-
anya's life. attended Chaitanya through life, and during four centuries he has been worshipped as an incarnation of Vishnu. Extricating ourselves from the halo of legend which surrounds and obscures the apostle, we know little of his private life except that he was the son of a Bráhmaṇ settled at Nadiyá near Calcutta; that in his youth he married the daughter of a celebrated saint; that at the age of twenty-four he forsook the world, and, renouncing the state of a householder, repaired to Orissa, where he devoted the rest of his days to the propagation of the faith. He disappeared miraculously in 1527 A.D.

Chait-
anya's
teaching. With regard to Chaitanya's doctrine we have ample evidence. No race or caste was beyond the pale of salvation. The Musalmáns and Hindus shared his labours, and profited by his preaching. He held that all men are alike capable of faith, and that all castes by faith become equally pure. Implicit belief and incessant devotion were his watchwords. Contemplation rather than ritual was his pathway to salvation. Obedience to the religious guide is the great characteristic of his sect; but he warned his disciples to respect their teachers as second fathers, and not as gods. The great end of his system, as of all Indian forms of worship, is the liberation of the soul. He held that such liberation does not mean the mere annihilation of separate existence. It consists in nothing more than an entire freedom from the stains and the frailties of the body. The liberated soul dwells for ever, either in a blessed region of perfect beauty and sinlessness, or it soars into the heaven of Vishnu himself, high above the myths and mirages of this world, where God appears no more in his mortal incarnations, or in any other form, but is known in his supreme essence.¹

'Liberation' of
the soul.

The Chait-
anya sect. The followers of Chaitanya belong to every caste, but they acknowledge the rule of the descendants of the original disciples (*gosáins*). These *gosáins* now number 23,062 in Bengal alone. The sect is open alike to the married and the unmarried. It has its celibates and wandering mendicants, but its religious teachers are generally married men. They live with their wives and children in clusters of houses around a temple to Krishna; and in this way the adoration of

Its
religious
houses.

¹ Besides the notices of Chaitanya in H. H. Wilson's works, the reader is referred to a very careful essay by Babu Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, entitled *Chaitanya's Ethics* (Calcutta, 1884). Mr. Ghosh bases his works upon the original writings of Chaitanya and his followers. The present author is indebted to him for a correction of one year in the date of Chaitanya's birth, calculated from the *Chaitanya Charitámrita*.

Chaitanya has become a sort of family worship throughout Orissa. The landed gentry worship him with a daily ritual in household chapels dedicated to his name. After his death, a sect arose among his followers, who asserted the spiritual independence of women.¹ In their monastic enclosures, male and female cenobites live in celibacy; the women shaving their heads, with the exception of a single lock of hair. The two sexes chant the praises of Vishnu and Chaitanya together, in hymn and solemn dance. One important doctrine of the Vishnuite sects is their recognition of the value of women as instructors of the outside female community. For long, their female devotees were the only teachers admitted into the *sanāṇas* of good families in Bengal. Fifty years ago, they had effected a change for the better in the state of female education, and the value of such instruction was assigned as the cause of the sect having spread in Calcutta.² Since that time, Vishnuite female ascetics of various sorts have entered the same field. In some instances the bad crept in along with the good, and an effort made in 1863 to utilize them in the mechanism of Public Instruction failed.³

The place
it assigns
to women.

The analogy of woman's position in the Vishnuite sects to that assigned to her by ancient Buddhism is striking. But the analogy becomes more complete when the comparison is made with the extra-mural life of the modern Buddhist nun on the Punjab frontier. Thus, in LAHUL (Lahaul) some of the nuns have not, as in Tibet, cloisters of their own. They are attached to monasteries, in which they reside only a few months of the year; and which they may permanently quit, either in order to marry or for other sufficient reasons. In 1868, there were seventy-one such Buddhist nuns in Lahul, able to read and write, and very closely resembling in their life and discipline the better orders of Vishnuite female devotees in Bengal. One of them was sufficiently skilled in astronomy to calculate eclipses.⁴

Modern
Buddhist
nuns.

The death of Chaitanya marked the beginning of a spiritual decline in Vishnu-worship. About 1520, Vallabha-Swāmi preached in Northern India that the liberation of the soul did not depend upon the mortification of the body; and that

Vallabha-
Swāmi,
circ. 1520
A.D.

¹ The Spashtha Dayakas.

² Wilson's *Religion of Hindus*, vol. i. p. 171 (ed. 1862).

³ The official details of this interesting and once promising experiment at Dacca will be found in Appendix A. to the Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, for 1863-64, pp. 83-90; for 1864-65, pp. 155-158; and in each subsequent Annual Report to 1869.

⁴ Sherring's *Hindu Tribes*, vol. ii. p. 9 (4to, Calcutta).

Child-
worship.

God was to be sought, not in nakedness and hunger and solitude, but amid the enjoyments of this life. An opulent sect had, from an early period, attached itself to the worship of Krishna and his bride Rádhá ; a mystic significance being, of course, assigned to their pastoral loves. Still more popular among women is the modern adoration of Krishna as the Bála Gopála, or the Infant Cowherd,—a faith perhaps unconsciously stimulated by the Catholic worship of the Divine Child. The sect, however, deny any connection of their Infant god with the babe Jesus, and maintain that their worship is a legitimate and natural development of Vishnuite conceptions. Another influence of Christianity on Hinduism may possibly be traced in the growing importance assigned by the Krishna sects to *bhakti*, or faith, as an ail-sufficient instrument of salvation.

Krishna-
worship.

Vallabhi-Swámí was the apostle of Vishnuism as a religion of pleasure. When he had finished his life's work, he descended into the Ganges ; a brilliant flame arose from the spot ; and, in the presence of a host of witnesses, his glorified form ascended to heaven. The special object of his homage was Vishnu in his pastoral incarnation, in which he took the form of the divine youth Krishna, and led an arcadian life in the forest. Shady bowers, lovely women, exquisite viands, and everything that appeals to the sensuousness of a tropical race, are mingled in his worship. His daily ritual consists of eight services, in which Krishna's image, as a beautiful boy, is delicately bathed, anointed with essences, splendidly attired, and sumptuously fed. The followers of the first Vishnuite reformers dwelt together in secluded monasteries, or went about scantily clothed, living upon alms. But the Vallabhi-Swámí sect performs its devotions arrayed in costly apparel, anointed with oil, and perfumed with camphor or sandal. It seeks its converts, not among weavers, or leather-dressers, or barbers, but among wealthy bankers and merchants, who look upon life as a thing to be enjoyed, and upon pilgrimage as a holiday excursion, or an opportunity for trade.

A religion
of pleasure.

In a religion of this sort, abuses are inevitable. It was a revolt against a system which taught that the soul could approach its Maker only by the mortification of the body. It declared that God was present in the cities and marts of men, not less than in the cave of the ascetic. Faith and love were its instruments of salvation, and voluptuous contemplation its approved spiritual state. It delighted to clothe the deity in a beautiful human form, and mystical amorous poems make a

large part of its canonical literature. One of its most valued theological treatises is entitled *The Ocean of Love*, *Prem Sāgar*; and although its nobler professors always recognised its spiritual character, to baser minds it has become simply a religion of pleasure. The loves of Rādhā and Krishna, that woodland pastoral redolent of a wild-flower aroma as ethereal as the legend of Psyche and Cupid, are sometimes materialized into a sanction for licentious rites.

A few of the Vishnuite sects have been particularized in order to show the wide area of religious thought which they cover, and the composite conceptions of which their beliefs are made up. But any attempt at a complete catalogue of them is beyond the scope of this work. H. H. Wilson divided them into twenty principal sects, and the branches or lesser brotherhoods number not less than a hundred. Their series of religious founders continued until the present century, when they began to merge into the more purely theistic movements of our day. Indeed, the higher Vishnuite teachers have always been theistic. The Statistical Survey of India has disclosed many such reformations, from the Kartābhajās¹ of the Districts around Calcutta, to the Satnāmis² of the Central Provinces.

Some of these sects are poor local brotherhoods, with a single religious house; others have developed into widespread and wealthy bodies; while one theistic church has grown into a great nation, the Sikhs, the last military power which we had to subdue in India.³ Nānak Shāh, the spiritual founder of the Sikhs, was nearly contemporary with Kabīr, and taught doctrines in the Punjab but little differing from those of the Bengal apostle.⁴ The Vishnuite sects now include almost the whole population of Lower Bengal, excepting the very highest and the very lowest castes. In many of their communities, caste is not acknowledged. Such sects form brotherhoods which recognise only spiritual distinctions or degrees; and a new social organization is thus provided for the unfortunate, the widow, or the out-caste. In lately Hinduized Provinces like Assam, Vishnu-worship has become practically the religion of the people.

The Car Festival of Jagannāth is perhaps the most typical Jagannāth.

¹ See Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. i. pp. 73-75 (TWENTY-FOUR PARGANAS); vol. ii. pp. 53-55 (NADIYA).

² See *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, article CENTRAL PROVINCES.

³ See *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, articles AMRITSAR and PUNJAB. For the theological aspects of the Sikhs, see Wilson's *Religion of the Hindus*, vol. i. pp. 267-275 (ed. 1862).

⁴ H. H. Wilson's *Religion of the Hindus*, vol. i. p. 269.

ceremony of the Vishnuite faith. Jagannáth, literally 'The Lord of the World,' represents, with unmistakeable clearness, that coalition of Bráhmaṇ and Buddhist doctrines which forms the basis of Vishnu-worship. In his temple are three rude images, unconsciously representing the Bráhmaṇical triad.

His Bráhmaṇical and Buddhist origin.

His Car Festival is probably a once-conscious reproduction of the Tooth Festival of the Buddhists, although its original significance has dropped out of sight. The Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian gives an account of the yearly procession of Buddha's Sacred Tooth from its chapel to a shrine some way off,¹ and of its return after a stay there. This was in the 5th century A.D.; but the account applies so exactly to the Car Festival at the present day, that Fergusson pronounces the latter to be 'merely a copy.'²

A similar festival is still celebrated with great rejoicing in Japan. As in the Indian procession of Jagannáth, the Japanese use three cars;³ and Buddha sits in his temple, together with two other figures, like the Jagannáth triad of Orissa.³ It is needless to add, that while Jagannáth is historically of Buddhist or composite origin, he is to his true believers the one supreme 'Lord of the World.'

Car Festival of Jagannáth.

The calumnies in which some English writers have indulged with regard to Jagannáth, are exposed in Hunter's work on Orissa. That work carefully examined the whole evidence on the subject, from 1580, when Abul Fazl wrote, through a long series of travellers, down to the police reports of 1870.⁴ It came to the conclusion which H. H. Wilson had arrived at from quite different sources,⁵ that self-immolation was entirely opposed to the worship of Jagannáth, and that the deaths at the Car Festival were almost always accidental. In a closely-packed, eager throng of a hundred thousand men and women at Purí, numbers of them unaccustomed to exposure or hard labour, and all of them tugging and straining to the utmost at the car, under a blazing sun, deaths must occasionally occur.

ish calumnies.

Self-immolation not practised.

There were also isolated instances of pilgrims throwing themselves under the wheels in a frenzy of religious excitement. At one time, several unhappy people were killed or injured every year, but they were almost invariably cases

¹ From the chapel at Anurádhapura to Mehentele.

² *History of Architecture*, vol. ii. p. 590 (ed. 1867).

³ See, among many interesting notices by recent travellers, Miss Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. i. pp. 111, 115, etc. (ed. 1880).

⁴ Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. i., particularly pp. 306-308; also pp. 132-136.

⁵ Namely, the descriptions of the Car Festival or *Rath-Játra* in the work of Krishna Dás.

of accidental trampling. At an early period, indeed, the priests at Puri, probably by permitting a midnight sacrifice once a year within their precincts to the wife¹ of Siva, had fallen under suspicion of bloody rites.² But such rites arose from the ambition of the priests to make Puri the sacred city of all worships and all sects. The yearly midnight offerings to the Dread Goddess within Jagannáth's sacred precincts represent the efforts made from time to time towards a coalition of the Sivaite and Vishnuite worship, like the *chakra* or sacred disc of Vishnu which surmounts the pre-historic temple to Káli at Tamluk.³

Such compromises had nothing to do with the worship of the true Jagannáth. A drop of blood even accidentally spilt in his presence pollutes the officiating priests, the people, and the consecrated food. The few suicides that occurred at the Car Festival were for the most part those of diseased and miserable objects, who took this means to put themselves out of pain.⁴ The official returns now place the facts beyond doubt. Nothing could be more opposed to Vishnu-worship than self-immolation. Any death within the temple of Jagannáth renders the place unclean. The ritual suddenly stops, and the polluted offerings are hurried away from the sight of the offended god.

According to Chaitanya, the Orissa apostle of Jagannáth, the destruction of the least of God's creatures is a sin against the Creator. Self-slaughter he would have regarded with abhorrence. The copious literature of his sect frequently describes the Car Festival, but makes no mention of self-sacrifice, and contains not a single passage which could be twisted into a sanction for it.⁵ Abul Fazl, the minister of Akbar, who conducted the survey of India for the Mughal Emperor, is silent about self-immolation to Jagannáth, although, from the context, it is almost certain that had he heard of the practice he would have mentioned it. In 1870, the present author compiled an index to all accounts by travellers and others of self-immolation at the Car Festival, from the 14th century downwards.⁶ It proved that such

His
bloodless
worship.

Evidence
about
Jagannáth;

against
self-
slaughter.

¹ Bimalá, the 'Stainless One.'

² See statement from the *Haft-iklim* (1485-1527 A.D.) in Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. i. p. 306.

³ See *The Imperial Gazetteer*, article TAMLUK.

⁴ See authorities quoted in Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. i. p. 134; Stirling's account, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 324; *Calcutta Review*, vol. x. p. 235; *Report of Statistical Commissioner to the Government of Bengal*, 1868, part ii. p. 8; Puri Police Reports; Lieut. Laurie's *Orissa*, 1850.

⁵ H. H. Wilson's *Religion of the Hindus*, vol. i. p. 155 (ed. 1862).

⁶ Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. i. pp. 305-308.

suicides did at rare intervals occur, although they were opposed to the spirit of the worship.

Libels on
Jagannáth.

An Indian procession means a vast multitude of excitable beings ready for any extravagance. Among Indian processions, that of Jagannáth to his country-house stands first; and the frenzied affrays of the Muharram might as fairly be assigned to the deliberate policy of the British Government, as the occasional suicides at the Car Festival may be charged against the god. The travellers who tell the most sensational stories are the ones whose narratives prove that they went entirely by hearsay, or who could not themselves have seen the Car Festival at Purí. The number of deaths, whether voluntary or accidental, as registered by the dispassionate candour of English officials, has always been insignificant, indeed far fewer than those incident to the party processions of the Musalmáns; and under improved police arrangements, they have practically ceased. So far from encouraging religious suicides, the gentle doctrines of Jagannáth tended to check the once common custom of widow-burning. Even before the Government put a stop to *sati* in 1829, our officials observed its comparative infrequency at Purí. Widow-burning was discountenanced by the Vishnuite reformers, and is stigmatized by a celebrated disciple as 'the fruitless union of beauty with a corpse.'

His gentle
doctrines.

The religious
nexus
of Hindu-
ism.

The worship of Siva and Vishnu operates as a religious bond among the Hindus, in the same way as caste supplies the basis of their social organization. Theoretically, the Hindu religion starts from the Veda, and acknowledges its divine authority. But, practically, we have seen that Hinduism takes its origin from many sources. Vishnu-worship and Sivaite rites represent the two most popular combinations of these various elements. The highly-cultivated Bráhmaṇ is a pure theist; the less cultivated worships the divinity under some chosen form, *ishta-devatá*. The conventional Bráhmaṇ, especially in the south, takes as his 'chosen deity,' Siva in his deep philosophical significance, with the phallic *linga* as his emblem. The middle classes and the mercantile community adore some incarnation of Vishnu. The low-castes propitiate Siva the Destroyer, or rather one of his female manifestations, such as the dread Kálí.

The
'chosen
god,' *ishta-*
devatá.

Practical
faith of the
Hindus

But every Hindu of education allows that his special object of homage is merely his *ishta-devatá*, or own chosen form under which to adore the Deity, PARAM-ESWARA. He admits

that there is ample scope for adoring God under other manifestations, or in other shapes. Unless a new sect takes the initiative, by rejecting caste or questioning the authority of the Veda, the Hindu is slow to dispute the orthodoxy of the movement. Even the founder of the Brahmá Samáj, or modern theistic church of Bengal, lived and died a Hindu.¹ The Indian vernacular press cordially acknowledges the merits of distinguished Christian teachers, like Dr. Duff of Calcutta, or Dr. Wilson of Bombay. At first, indeed, our missionaries, in their outburst of proselytizing zeal, spoke disrespectfully of Hinduism, and stirred up some natural resentment. But as they more fully realized the problems involved in conversion, they moderated their tone, and now live on friendly terms with the Bráhmans and religious natives.

An orthodox Hindu paper, which had been filling its columns with a vigorous polemic entitled 'Christianity Destroyed,' no sooner heard of the death of the late Mr. Sherring, than it published a eulogium on that devoted missionary. It dwelt on 'his learning, affability, solidity, piety, benevolence, and business capacity.' The editor, while a stout defender of his hereditary faith, regretted that 'so little of Mr. Sherring's teaching had fallen to his lot.'² The Hindus are among the most tolerant religionists in the world.

Of the three members of the Hindu Triad, the first person, Bráhma, has now but a few scattered handfuls of followers; the second person, Vishnu, supplies a worship for the middle classes; around the third person, Siva, in his twofold aspects, has grown up that mixture of philosophical symbolism with propitiatory rites professed by the highest and by the lowest castes. But the educated Hindu willingly recognises that, beyond and above his chosen Deity of the Triad, or his favourite incarnation, or his village fetish, or his household *sálagráh*, dwells the PARAM-ESWARA, the One First Cause, whom the eye has not seen, and whom the mind cannot conceive, but who may be worshipped in any one of the forms in which he manifests his power to men.

¹ The best short account of this deeply interesting movement, and of its first leader Rammohan Roy, will be found under the title of *Indian Theistic Reformers*, by Professor Monier Williams, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Jan. 1881, vol. xiii. See also his *Modern India* (Trübner, 1879); and Miss Collet's *Brahmo Year Book* (Williams & Norgate, annually).

² The *Kavi-bachan Sudha*, quoted in the *Chronicle of the London Missionary Society* for November 1880, p. 792.

Recapitulation.

Three Western influences;

(1) Christianity,

(2) Islám,

3) British Rule.

The foregoing chapters indicate how, out of the early Aryan and non-Aryan races of India, as modified by Greek and Scythic invasions, the Hindu population and the Hindu religion were built up. We shall next consider three series of influences which, within historic times, have been brought to bear, by nations from the West, upon the composite people thus formed. The first set of these influences is represented by the early Christian Church of India, a Church which had its origin in a period long anterior to the mediæval Hinduism of the 9th century, and which is numerous represented by the Syrian Christians of Malabar in our own day. The second foreign influence brought to bear upon India from the West consisted of the Muhammadan invasions, which eventually created the Mughal Empire. The third influence is represented by the European settlements, which culminated in the British Rule.

CHAPTER IX.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA (*circa* 100 TO 1881 A.D.).

CHRISTIANITY now forms the faith of over two millions of the Indian population. Coeval with Buddhism during the last nine centuries of its Indian history, the teaching of Christ has, after the lapse of another nine hundred years, more than twelve times more followers than the teaching of Buddha upon the Indian continent. Adding Burma, where the doctrines of Gautama still remain the creed of the people, there are over two millions of Christians to under three and a half millions of Buddhists; or to four millions of Buddhists and Jains. Christianity, while a very old religion in India, is also one of the most active at the present day. The Census of 1881 disclosed that the Christians in British and Feudatory India had increased by more than one-fifth since 1872; and this increase, while partly the result of more perfect enumeration, represents to a large extent a real growth.

The origin of Christianity in India is obscure. Early tradition, accepted popularly by Catholics, and more doubtfully by Protestants, connects it with St. Thomas the Apostle, who is said to have preached in Southern India, on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts; to have founded several churches; and finally, to have been martyred at the Little Mount, near Madras, in 68 A.D. The Catholic tradition narrates further, that a persecution arose not long after, in which all the priests perished; that many years later, the Patriarch of Babylon, while still in communion with Rome, heard of the desolate state of the Indian Church, and sent forth bishops who revived its faith; that about 486 A.D., Nestorianism spread from Babylon into Malabar.

To orthodoxy this tradition has a twofold value. It assigns an apostolic origin to the Christianity of India; and it explains away the fact that Indian Christianity, when it emerges into history, formed a branch of the unorthodox Nestorian Church. Modern criticism has questioned the evidence for the evangelistic labours of the Doubting Apostle in Southern India. It

has brought to light the careers of two later missionaries, both bearing the name of Thomas, to whom, at widely separated dates, the honour of converting Southern India is assigned. Gibbon dismisses the question of their respective claims in a convenient triplet :—‘The Indian missionary St. Thomas, an Apostle, a Manichæan, or an Armenian merchant.’¹

Syrian
Christians
of India.

This method of treatment scarcely satisfies the present century ; and the Statistical Survey of India has thrown fresh light on the Syrian Christians of the Southern Peninsula. At this day they number 304,410,² or more than double the number of Native Protestants in India in 1861. Indeed, until within the past ten years, the remnants of the ancient Syrian Church had still a larger native following in India than all the Protestant sects put together.³ It would be unsuitable to dismiss so ancient and so numerous a body without some attempt to trace their history. That history forms the longest continuous narrative of any religious sect in India except the Jains.

Their
numbers
and
antiquity.

The Syrian Church of Malabar had its origin in the period when Buddhism was still triumphant ; it witnessed the birth of the Hinduism which superseded the doctrine and national polity of Buddha ; it saw the arrival of the Muhammadans who ousted the Hindu dynasties ; it suffered cruelly from the Roman inquisitors of the Portuguese ; but it has survived its persecutors, and has formed a subject of interest to Anglican inquirers during the past eighty years.⁴

The three
Legends
of St.
Thomas.

The three legends of St. Thomas, the missionary of Southern India, may be summarized as follows. According to the Chaldaean Breviary and certain Fathers of the Catholic Church,

¹ *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (quarto edition, 1788), vol. iv. p. 599, footnote 122.

² *Census of India*, 1881, vol. ii. pp. 20, 21. The Census officers return the whole as ‘Syrians,’ without discriminating between Jacobites and Syrian Catholics. A statement kindly supplied to the author by the Vicar-Apostolic of Verapoli returns the Syrian Catholics within his jurisdiction at over 200,000, and the Jacobites at about 100,000. The latter are chiefly under the jurisdiction of the Roman vicars-apostolic of Verapoli and Quilon, but are still distinguished as ‘Catholics of the Syrian rite.’

³ See *Protestant Missions in India, Burma, and Ceylon*, Statistical Tables, 1881, drawn up under the authority of the Calcutta Missionary Conference. This valuable compilation returns 138,731 Native Protestant Christians in 1861, and 224,258 in 1871, in India, exclusive of Burma.

⁴ From the time of Claudius Buchanan and Bishop Heber downwards. See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii., ‘Account of St. Thomé Christians on the coast of Malabar,’ by Mr. Wrede ; Buchanan’s *Christian Researches in Asia*, 4th ed. (1811), pp. 106, 145 ; Heber’s *Journal*, vol. ii. ; Bishop Middleton’s *Life of Le Bas*, chapters ix.–xii. (1831) ; Hough’s *Hist. of Christianity in India*, 5 vols. (1839–60).

St. Thomas the Apostle converted many countries of Asia, and found a martyr's death in India. The meagre tradition of the early Church was expanded by the Catholic writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The abstract by Vincenzo Maria makes the Apostle commence his work in Mesopotamia, and includes Bactria, Central Asia, China, 'the States of the Great Mogul,' Siam, Germany, Brazil, and Ethiopia, in the circle of his missionary labours. The apostolic traveller then sailed east again to India, converting the island of Socotra on the way, and after preaching in Malabar, ended his labours on the Coromandel coast.¹ The final development of the tradition fills in the details of his death. It would appear that on the 21st December 68 A.D., at Mailapur, a suburb of Madras, the Bráhmans stirred up a tumult against the Apostle, who, after being stoned by the crowd, was finally thrust through with a spear upon the spot now known as St. Thomas' Mount.

The second legend assigns the conversion of India to Thomas the Manichæan, or disciple of Manes, towards the end of the third century. Another legend ascribes the honour to an Armenian merchant, Thomas Cana, in the eighth century. The story relates that Mar Thomas, the Armenian, settled in Malabar for purposes of trade, married two Indian ladies, and grew into power with the native princes. He found that such Christians as existed before his time had been driven by persecution from the coast into the hill-country. Mar Thomas secured for them the privilege of worshipping according to their faith, led them back to the fertile coast of Malabar, and became their archbishop. On his death, his memory received the gradual and spontaneous honours of canonization by the Christian communities for whom he had laboured, and his name became identified with that of the Apostle.

Whatever may be the claims of the Armenian Thomas as the re-builder of the Church in Southern India, he was certainly not its founder. Apart from the evidence of Patristic literature, there is abundant local proof that Christianity flourished in Southern India long before the eighth century. In the sixth century, while Buddhism was still at the height of its power, Kalyán, on the Bombay coast, was the seat of a Christian bishop from Persia.²

¹ *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*. Colonel Yule's second edition, vol. ii. p. 343, note 4 (1875).

² *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. xiii. part i., Thána District, pp. 66, 200, etc. It is not necessary to dispute whether the seat of this bishopric was the modern Kalyán or Quilon (Coilam), as the coast from Bombay southwards to Quilon bore indefinitely the name of Caliana.

52 to 68
A.D. (?)

First
Legend :
St. Thomas
the
Apostle
(68 A.D.).

Second
Legend :
Thomas
the Mani-
chæan (277
A.D.).

Third
Legend :
Thomas
the Ar-
menian
(780 A.D.).

The three
Legends
examined ;

the third ;

the second legend; The claims of Thomas the Manichæan have the European support of the Church historians, La Croze,¹ Tillemont, and others. The local testimony of a cross dug up near Madras in 1547, bearing an inscription in the Pehlvi tongue, has also been urged in his favour. The inscription is probably of the seventh or eighth century A.D., and, although somewhat variously deciphered, bears witness to the sufferings of Christ.²

and the first. For the claims of St. Thomas the Apostle, a longer and more ancient series of authorities are cited. The apocryphal history of St. Thomas, by Abdias, dating perhaps from the end of the first century, narrates that a certain Indian king, Gondaphorus, sent a merchant called Abban to Jesus, to seek a skilful architect to build him a palace. The story continues that the Lord sold Thomas to him as a slave expert in that art.³ The Apostle converted King Gondaphorus, and then journeyed on to another country of India, under King Meodeus, where he

¹ *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, 2 vols. 12mo (The Hague, 1758).

² Professor Haug reads it thus: 'Whoever believes in the Messiah, and in God above, and also in the Holy Ghost, is in the grace of Him who bore the pain of the cross.' Dr. Burnell deciphers it more diffidently:— 'In punishment [P] by the cross [was] the suffering of this [one]: [He] who is the true Christ and God above, and Guide for ever pure.' Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., p. 345, vol. ii.; also p. 339, where the cross is figured.

³ This legend forms the theme of the *Hymnus in Festo Sancti Thomae Apostoli, ad Vesperum*, in the Mozarabic Breviary, edited by Cardinal Lorenzana in 1775. Its twenty-one verses are given as an appendix in Dr. Kennet's Madras monograph. Three stanzas will here suffice:—

Nuncius venit de Indis
Quærerere artificem :
Architectum construere
Regium palatium :
In foro deambulabat
Cunctorum venalium.
Habeo servum fidelem,
Locutus est Dominus,
Ut exquiris talem, aptum
Esse hunc artificem :
Abbanes videns, et gaudens,
Suscepit Apostolum.'

The hymn assigns the death of the Apostle to the priest of a sun temple which had been overthrown by St. Thomas:—

Tunc sacerdos idolorum
Furibundus astitit,
Gladio transverberavit
Sanctum Christi martyrem,
Glorioso passionis
Laureatum sanguine.'

was slain by lances.¹ The existence of a King Gondaphorus has been established by coins, which would place him in the last century B.C., or within the first half of the first century of our era.² But, apart from difficulties of chronology, it is clear that the Gondaphorus of the coins was an Indo-Scythic monarch, reigning in regions which had no connection with Malabar. His coins are still found in numbers in Afghánistán and the Punjab, especially from Pesháwar to Ludhiána. He was essentially a Punjab potentate.

The mention of St. Thomas the Apostle in connection with India by the Fathers, and in the Offices of the Church, does not bring him nearer to Malabar, or to the supposed site of his martyrdom at Madras. For the term 'India,' at the period to which these authorities belong, referred to the countries beyond Persia, including Afghánistán and the basins of the Upper Oxus, Indus, and Ganges, rather than to the southern half of the peninsula. In the early accounts of the labours of St. Thomas, the vague term India is almost always associated with Persia, Media, or Bactria.³ Nor does the appellation of St. Thomas as the Apostle of India in the Commemorations of the Church, help to identify him with the St. Thomas who preached on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. For not only does the indeterminate character of the word still adhere to their use of 'India,' but the area assigned to the Apostle's labours is so wide as to deprive them of value for the purpose of local identification. Thus, the Chaldaean Breviary of the Malabar Church itself states that 'by St. Thomas were the

¹ Colonel Yule's *Marco Polo*, second edition, vol. ii. p. 243. Dr. Kennet, in an interesting monograph entitled *St. Thomas, the Apostle of India*, p. 19 (Madras, 1882), says:—'The history of Abdias was published for the first time by Wolfgang Lazius, under the title of *Abdia Babylonia, Episcopi et Apostolorum Discipuli, de Historia certaminis Apostolici, libri decem; Julio Africano Interprete*. Basilæ, 1532.'

² For the various dates, see Colonel Yule's *Marco Polo*, second edition, vol. ii. p. 343. Colonel Yule's *Cathay* deals with the Chinese and Central Asian aspects of the legend of St. Thomas (2 vols. 1866).

³ Thus the *Paschal Chronicle* of Bishop Dorotheus (born A.D. 254) says: 'The Apostle Thomas, after having preached the gospel to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Germanians [an agricultural people of Persia mentioned by Herodotus, i. 125], Bactrians, and Magi, suffered martyrdom at Calamina, a town of India.' Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus (circa 220 A.D.), assigns to St. Thomas, Parthia, Media, Persia, Herkania, the Bactri, the Mardi, and, while ascribing the conversion of India to St. Bartholomew, mentions Calamina, a city of India, as the place of St. Thomas' martyrdom. The Metropolitan Johannes, who attended the Council of Nicæa in 325, subscribed as Bishop of 'India Maxima and Persia.' Dr. Kennet's monograph (Madras, 1882); Hough, i. pp. 30 to 116.

and
Church
Offices.

Chinese and the Ethiopians converted to the Truth,' while one of its anthems proclaims: 'The Hindus, the Chinese, the Persians, and all the people of the Isles of the Sea, they who dwell in Syria and Armenia, in Javan and Roumania, call Thomas to remembrance, and adore 'Thy Name, O Thou our Redeemer!'

First
glimpse at
Indian
Christians,
circa 190
A.D.

Candid inquiry must therefore decline to accept the connection of St. Thomas with the 'India' of the early Church as proof of the Apostle's identity with Thomas, the missionary to Malabar. Nevertheless, there is evidence to indicate that Christianity had reached Malabar before the end of the second century A.D., and nearly a hundred years previous to the supposed labours of Thomas the Manichæan (*circa* 277 A.D.). In the 2nd century a Roman merchant fleet of one hundred sail steered regularly from Myos Hormus on the Red Sea, to Arabia, Ceylon, and Malabar. It found an ancient Jewish colony, the remnants of which still remain to this day as the Beni-Israel¹, upon the Bombay coast. Whether these Jews emigrated to India at the time of the Dispersion, or at a later period, their settlements probably date from before the second century of our era.

The
Roman
fleet from
Egypt.

Jew
settle-
ments
in ancient
Malabar.

The Red Sea fleet from Myos Hormus, which traded with this Jewish settlement in India, must in all likelihood have brought with it Jewish merchants and others acquainted with the new religion of Christ which, starting from Palestine, had penetrated throughout the Roman world. Part of the fleet, moreover, touched at Aden and the Persian Gulf, themselves early seats of Christianity. Indeed, after the direct sea-course to Malabar by the trade winds was known, the main navigation to India for some time hugged the Asiatic coast. Christian merchants from that coast, both of Jewish and other race, would in the natural course of trade have reached Malabar within the second century A.D.² The Buddhist polity then supreme in Southern India was favourable to the reception of a faith whose moral characteristics were humanity and self-sacrifice. Earlier Jewish settlers had already familiarized the native mind with the existence of an ancient and imposing

¹ For their present numbers and condition, see the *Bombay Gazetteer*, by Mr. J. M. Campbell, LL.D., of the Bombay Civil Service, vol. xi. pp. 85 and 421; vol. xiii. p. 273.

² The Roman trade with the southern coast of India probably dates from, or before, the Apostolic period. Of 522 silver *denarii* found near Coimbatore in 1842, no fewer than 135 were coins of Augustus, and 378 of Tiberius. Another find near Calicut about 1850 contained an *aureus* of Augustus, with several hundred coins, none later than the Emperor Nero.

religion in Palestine. When that religion was presented in its new and more attractive form of Christianity, no miraculous intervention was probably required to commend it to the tolerant Buddhist princes of Southern India.

About 190 A.D., rumours, apparently brought back by the Red Sea fleet, of a Christian community on the Malabar coast, fired the zeal of Pantænus of Alexandria. Pantænus, in his earlier years a Stoic philosopher, was then head of the celebrated school which formed one of the glories of his city. He started for India; and although it has been questioned whether he reached India Proper, the evidence seems in favour of his having done so. He 'found his own arrival anticipated by some who were acquainted with the Gospel of Matthew; to whom Bartholomew, one of the apostles, had preached; and had left them the same Gospel in the Hebrew, which also was preserved until this time.'¹ His mission may be placed at the end of the 2nd century. Early in the 3rd century, St. Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus (*circa* 220 A.D.), also assigns the conversion of India to the Apostle Bartholomew. To Thomas he ascribes Persia and the countries of Central Asia, although he mentions Calamina, a city of India, as the place where Thomas suffered death.

Indeed, the evidence of the early Christian writers, so far as it goes, tends to connect St. Thomas with the India of the ancient world,—that is to say, with Persia and Afghánistán,—and St. Bartholomew with the Christian settlements on the Malabar coast. Cosmos Indicopleustes writes of a Christian Church in Ceylon, and on the Callian or Malabar seaboard (*circa* 547 A.D.). But he makes no mention of its foundation by St. Thomas, which, as an Alexandrian monk, he would have been almost sure to do had he heard any local tradition of the circumstance. He states that the Malabar Bishop was consecrated in Persia; from which we may infer that the Christians of Southern India had already been brought within the Nestorian fold. There is but slight evidence for fixing upon the Malabar coast as the seat of the orthodox Bishop Frumentius, sent forth by Athanasius to India and the East, *circa* 355 A.D.

The truth is, that the Christians of Southern India belonged from their first clear emergence into history to the Syrian rite. If, as seems probable, Christianity was first brought to Malabar by the merchant fleet from the Persian Gulf, or the

¹ Dr. Kennet, quoting Eusebius, in his monograph on *St. Thomas, the Apostle of India*, p. 9 (Madras, 1882).

Asiatic coast of the Arabian Sea, the Malabar Christians would follow the Asiatic forms of faith. When, therefore, in the 5th century, Nestorianism, driven forth from Europe and Africa, conquered the allegiance of Asia, the Church of Southern India would naturally accept the Nestorian doctrine.

Side by
side with
Buddhism
for 1000
years.

It should be remembered that during the thousand years when Christianity flourished in Asia, from the 5th to the 15th century, it was the Christianity of Nestorius. The Jacobite sect dwelt in the midst of the Nestorians; and for nearly a thousand years, the Christianity of these types, together with Buddhism, formed the two intelligent religions of Central Asia. How far Buddhism and Christianity mutually influenced each other's doctrine and ritual still remains a complex problem. But Christianity in western Central Asia appears to have offered a longer resistance than Buddhism to the advancing avalanche of Islām; and in the countries to the west of Tibet it survived its Buddhist rival. 'Under the reign of the Caliphs,' says Gibbon, 'the Nestorian Church was diffused from China to Jerusalem and Cyprus; and their numbers, with those of the Jacobites, were computed to surpass the Greek and Latin communions.'¹

Its wide
diffusion.

The marvellous history of the Christian Tartar potentate, Prester John, king, warrior, and priest, is a mediæval legend based on the ascendancy of Christianity in some of the Central Asian States.² The travellers in Tartary and China, from the 12th to the 15th century, bear witness to the extensive survival, and once flourishing condition, of the Nestorian Church, and justify Pierre Bergeron's description of it as 'épandue par toute l'Asie.'³ The term *Catholicos*, which the Nestorians applied to their Patriarch, and the Jacobites to their Metropolitan, survives in the languages of Central India. The mediæval travellers preserve it in various forms;⁴ and the British Embassy to Yarkand, in 1873, still

¹ *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, p. 598, vol. iv. (quarto ed. 1788). Gibbon quotes his authorities for this statement in a footnote. The whole subject of early Christianity in Central Asia and China has been discussed with exhaustive learning in Colonel Yule's *Cathay, and the Way Thither*. Hakluyt Society, 2 vols. 1866.

² 'Voyage de Rubruquis en Tartarie,' chap. xix., in the quarto volume of *Voyages en Asie*, published at the Hague in 1735. Guillaume de Rubruquis was an ambassador of Louis IX., sent to Tartary and China in 1253 A.D. Colonel Yule also gives the story of Prester John in *Marco Polo*, vol. i. pp. 229-233 (ed. 1875).

³ 'Traité des Tartares,' par Pierre Bergeron, chap. iii. in the Hague quarto of *Voyages en Asie*, above quoted (1735).

⁴ *Jāthallik, Jatolic, Jatelic*; originally *Gāthallik*.

came upon a story of 'a poor and aged *Játlik*, or Christian priest.'¹

Whether the Christians on the coast of Malabar were a direct offshoot of the Nestorian Church of Asia, or the result of an earlier seedling dropped by St. Thomas or St. Bartholomew on their apostolic travels, it is certain that from their first appearance in local history, the Malabar Christians obeyed bishops from Persia of the Nestorian rite.² By the 7th century, the Persian Church had adopted the name of Thomas Christians, and this title would in time be extended to all its branches, including that of Malabar. The early legend of the Manichæan Thomas in the 3rd century, and the later labours of the Armenian Thomas, the rebuilder of the Malabar Church, in the 8th, had endeared that name to the Christians of Southern India. In their isolation and ignorance, they confounded the three names, and concentrated their legends of the three Thomases in the person of the Apostle.³ Before the 14th century, they had completed the process by believing that St. Thomas was Christ.

The fitness of things soon required that the life and death of the Apostle should be localized by the Southern Indian Church. Patristic literature clearly declares that St. Thomas had suffered martyrdom at Calamina, probably in some country east of Persia, or in Northern India itself. The tradition of the Church is equally distinct, that in 394 A.D. the remains of the Apostle were transferred to Edessa in Mesopotamia.⁴ The attempt to localize the death of St. Thomas on the southwestern coast of India started, therefore, under disadvantages. A suitable site was, however, found at the Mount near Madras, one of the many hill shrines of ancient India which have formed a joint resort of religious persons of diverse faiths,—Buddhist, Muhammadan, and Hindu (*ante*, p. 203).

Marco Polo, the first European traveller who has left an account of the place, gives the legend in its undeveloped form

¹ Dr. Bellew's 'History of Káshgar,' in the *Official Report of Sir Douglas Forsyth's Mission*, p. 127. (Quarto, Foreign Office Press, Calcutta, 1875.)

² Mr. Campbell's *Bombay Gazetteer*, Thána District, chap. iii. (Bombay, 1882.)

³ The Jacobites, or followers of Jacobus Baradaeus, prefer in the same way to deduce their name and pedigree from the Apostle James. Gibbon, iv. 603, footnote (ed. 1788).

⁴ For the authorities, see Dr. Kennet's Madras monograph, *St. Thomas, the Apostle of India* (1882); and Colonel Yule's critical note, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. p. 342 (2nd edition, 1875).

'Thomas
Christians'
of Persia;

and of
India.

Legend
of St.
Thomas
localized;

in spite of
difficulties,
at Madras,

13th cen-
tury form
of the
legend.

in the 13th century. The Apostle had, it seems, been accidentally killed outside his hermitage by a fowler, who, 'not seeing the saint, let fly an arrow at one of the peacocks. And this arrow struck the holy man in the right side, so that he died of the wound, sweetly addressing himself to his Creator.'¹ Miracles were wrought at the place, and conflicting creeds claimed the hermit as their own. 'Both Christians and Saracens, however, greatly frequent the pilgrimage,' says Marco Polo truthfully, although evidently a little puzzled.² 'For the Saracens also do hold the Saint in great reverence, and say that he was one of their own Saracens, and a great prophet.' Not only the Muhammadans and Christians, but also the Hindus seem to have felt the religious attractions of the spot. About thirty years after Marco Polo, the Church itself was, according to Odoric, filled with idols.³ Two centuries later, Joseph of Cranganore, the Malabar Christian, still testifies to the joint worship of the Christian and the heathen at St. Thomas' Mount. The Syrian bishops sent to India in 1504 heard 'that the Church had *begun* to be occupied by some Christian people. But Barbosa, a few years later, found it half in ruins, and in charge of a Muhammadan *fakir*, who kept a lamp burning.'⁴

Mixed
worship
at the
shrine.

The
legend as
developed

by the
Portu-
guese.

Relics at
Goa.

Final form
of the
legend.

Brighter days, however, now dawned for the Madras legend. Portuguese zeal, in its first fervours of Indian evangelization, felt keenly the want of a sustaining local hagiology. Saint Catherine had, indeed, visibly delivered Goa into their hands; and a parish church, afterwards the cathedral, was dedicated to her in 1512. Ten years later, the viceroy Duarte Menezes became ambitious of enriching his capital with the bones of an apostle. A mission from Goa despatched to the Coromandel coast in 1522, proved itself ignorant of, or superior to, the well-established legend of the translation of the Saint's remains to Edessa in 394 A.D., and found his sacred relics at the ancient hill shrine near Madras, side by side with those of a king whom he had converted to the faith. They were brought with pomp to Goa, the Portuguese capital of India, and there they lie in the Church of St. Thomas to this day.⁵

The finding of the Pehlvi cross, mentioned on a previous page, at St. Thomas' Mount in 1547, gave a fresh colouring to

¹ Colonel Yule's *Marco Polo* (2nd edition, 1875), vol. ii. p. 340.

² *Idem*, ii. pp. 337-338.

³ *Idem*, ii. p. 344.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* Colonel Yule's *Cathay* (2 vols. 1866) should also be referred to by students of the legend of St. Thomas, and his alleged labours in Asia and India.

the legend. So far as its inscription goes, it points to a Persian, and probably to a Manichæan origin. But at the period when it was dug up, no one in Madras could decipher its Pehlvi characters. A Bráhmaṇ impostor, knowing that there was a local demand for martyrs, accordingly came forward with a fictitious interpretation. The simple story of Thomas' accidental death from a stray arrow, had before this grown into a cruel martyrdom by stoning and a lance-thrust, with each spot in the tragedy fixed at the Greater and Lesser Mount near Madras. The Bráhmaṇ pretended to supply a confirmation of the legend from the inscription on the cross—a confirmation which continued to be accepted until Dr. Burnell and Professor Haug published their decipherments in our own day. 'In the 16th and 17th century,' says Colonel Yule, 'Roman Catholic ecclesiastical story-tellers seem to have striven in rivalry who should most recklessly expand the travels of the Apostle.'

The lying interpretation of the Bráhmaṇ, and the visible King Alfred's Embassy, relics in the church at Goa, seem to have influenced the popular imagination more powerfully than the clear tradition of the early Church regarding the translation of the Apostle's relics to Edessa. Our own King Alfred has been pressed into the service of St. Thomas of Madras. 'This year,' 883 A.D., says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 'Sighelm and Athelstane carried to Rome the alms which the king had vowed to send thither, and also to India to St. Thomas and to St. Bartholomew.'¹ Gibbon suspects 'that the English ambassadors collected their cargo and legend in Egypt.'² There is certainly no evidence to show that they ever visited the Coromandel coast, but to and much to indicate that the 'India' of Alfred was the India which shrine of the early Church, and far north-west of the Madras exploits of the Apostle. The legend of St. Thomas' Mount has in our own century been illustrated by the eloquence and learning of bishops and divines of the Anglo-Indian Church. 'But,' concludes Colonel Yule, 'I see that the authorities now ruling the Catholics at Madras are strong in disparagement of the special sanctity of the localities, and of the whole story connecting St. Thomas with Mailapur; the alleged scene of his martyrdom.'³

¹ Hough, i. p. 104 (1839); Dr. Kennet's Madras monograph, *St. Thomas, the Apostle of India*, pp. 6, 7 (1882).

² *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. iv. p. 599, footnote 123 (ed. 1788); Hough, vol. i. pp. 105-107.

³ Colonel Yule's *Marco Polo*, ii. p. 344 (ed. 1875).

Troubles
of the
Ancient
Indian
Church.

As a matter of history, the life of the Nestorian Church in India has been a troubled one. A letter from the Patriarch Jesajabus to Simeon, Metropolitan of Persia, shows that before 660 A.D., the Christians along the Indian coast were destitute of a regular ministry.¹ In the 8th century, the Armenian friar Thomas found the Malabar Christians driven back into the recesses of the mountains. In the 14th century, Friar Jordanus declared them to be Christians only in name, without baptism. They even confounded St. Thomas with Christ.² A mixed worship, Christian, Muhammadan, and Hindu, went on at the old high place or joint hill shrine near Madras. In some centuries, the Church in Southern India developed, like the Sikhs in the Punjab, into a military sovereignty. In others, it dwindled away; its remnants lingering in the mountains and woods, or adopting heathen rites. The family names of a forest tribe³ in Kánara, now Hindus, bear witness to a time when they were Christians; and there were probably many similar reversions to paganism.

The St.
Thomas
Christians
a military
caste ;

The downfall of the Nestorian Church in India was due, however, neither to such reversions to paganism nor to any persecutions of native princes; but to the pressure of the Portuguese Inquisition, and the proselytizing energy of Rome. Before the arrival of Vasco da Gama in 1498, the St. Thomas Christians had established their position as a powerful military caste in Malabar. The Portuguese found them firmly organized under their spiritual leaders, bishops, archdeacons, and priests, who acted as their representatives in dealing with the Indian princes. For long they had Christian kings, and at a later period chiefs, of their own.⁴ In virtue of an ancient charter ascribed to Cherumal Perumal, Suzerain of Southern India in the ninth century A.D., the Malabar Christians enjoyed all the rights of nobility.⁵ They even claimed precedence of the Nairs, who formed the heathen aristocracy. The St. Thomas Christians

¹ *Assemani Bibliotheca*, quoted by Bishop Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 27, footnote (ed. 1875). Jesajabus died 660 A.D.

² Jordanus, quoted in Mr. J. M. Campbell's *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xiii. part i. p. 200 (ed. 1882).

³ The Maráthi Sidis. For an interesting account of them, see Mr. J. M. Campbell's *Bombay Gazetteer*, Kánara District, vol. xv. part i. p. 397 (ed. 1883).

⁴ *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, par M. V. La Croze, vol. i. p. 72, ii. p. 133, etc. (2 vols. 12mo, The Hague, 1758).

⁵ *Idem*, i. p. 67. For details, see *The Syrian Church of Malabar*, by Edavalikel Philipos, p. 23, and footnote (Oxford, 1869). Local legend vainly places Cherumal Perumal and his grant as far back as 345 A.D.

and the Nairs were, in fact, the most important military castes on the south-west coast.¹ They supplied the bodyguard of the local kings; and the Christian caste was the first to learn the use of gunpowder and fire-arms. They thus became the matchlockmen of the Indian troops of Southern India, usually placed in the van, or around the person of the prince.

Powerful
and re-
spected.

The Portuguese, by a happy chance, landed on the very Province of India in which Christianity was most firmly established, and in which Christians had for long formed a recognised and respected caste. The proselytizing energy of the newcomers could not, however, rest satisfied with their good fortune. That energy was vigorously directed both against the natives and the ancient Christian communities. Indeed, the Nestorian heresy of the St. Thomas Christians seemed to the fervour of the friars to be a direct call from heaven for interference by the orthodox Church. The Portuguese established the Inquisition, as we shall presently see, at Goa in 1560. After various Portuguese attempts, strongly resisted by the St. Thomas Christians, the latter were incorporated into the Catholic Church, by the labours of Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, in 1599. The Synod held by him at Udayampura (or Diamper), near Cochin, in that year denounced Nestorius and his heresies, and put an end to the existence of the Indian Nestorian Church.

Portu-
guese
efforts at
their con-
version to
Rome.

No document could be more exhaustively complete than the Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Diamper, in its provisions for bringing the Malabar Christians within the Roman fold.² The sacred books of the St. Thomas congregations, their missals, their consecrated oil and church ornaments, were publicly burned; and their religious nationality as a separate caste was abolished. But when the firm hand of Archbishop Menezes was withdrawn, his parchment conversions began to lose their force. Notwithstanding the watchfulness of the Goa Inquisition over the new converts, the Decrees of the Synod of Diamper fell into neglect,³ and the Malabar Christians chafed under a line of Jesuit prelates from 1601 to 1653.

Synod of
Diamper,
1599.

In 1653 they renounced their allegiance to their Jesuit

¹ For the military aspects of the Christian caste of St. Thomas, see La Croze (*op. cit.*), ii. pp. 128, 129, 130, 140, 155, etc. The *History of the Church of Malabar and Synod of Diamper*, by the learned Michael Geddes, Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Sarum (London, 1694), an earlier and independent work, bears out this view.

² The Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Diamper (*i. e.* Udayampura) occupy 346 pages of the Chancellor of Sarum's *History of the Church of Malabar*, pp. 97-443 (ed. 1694).

³ La Croze, ii. p. 193.

Reversions and Conversions, 1653-1663. bishop. A Carmelite mission was despatched from Rome in 1656 to restore order. The vigorous measures of its head, Joseph of St. Mary, brought back a section of the old Christian communities; and Joseph, having reported his success at Rome, returned to India as their bishop in 1661. He found the Protestant Dutch pressing the Portuguese hard on the Malabar coast, 1661-1663. But the old military caste of Malabar Christians rendered no assistance to their Catholic superiors, and remained tranquil spectators of the struggle, till the capture of Cochin by the Dutch brought about the ruin of the Portuguese power in 1663.

Malabar Christians freed by the Dutch, 1663; The Malabar Christians, thus delivered from the temporal power of the Portuguese, re-asserted their spiritual independence. The Portuguese had compelled the native princes to persecute the old Christian communities; and by confiscations, imprisonments, and various forms of pressure, to drive the Indian Nestorians into reconciliation with Rome.¹ Such a persecution of a long recognised caste, especially of a valued military caste, was as foreign to the tolerant spirit of Hinduism, as it was repugnant to the policy of the Indian princes, and it has left a deep impression on the traditions of the south-western coast. The native Jacobite historian of the Church of Malabar rises to the righteous wrath of an old Scottish covenanter in recounting the bribing of the poorer chiefs by the Portuguese, and the killings, persecutions, and separations of the married clergy from their wives. The new Dutch masters of the southern coast, after a short antagonism to the Carmelite prelate and the native bishop whom he left behind, lapsed into indifference. They allowed the Roman missionaries free scope, but put an end to the exercise of the temporal power in support of the Catholic bishop.²

receive a Jacobite bishop, 1665. The chief spiritual weapon of conversion, a weapon dexterously used by the Portuguese Viceroys, had been the interruption of the supply of Nestorian bishops from Persia. This they effected by watching the ports along the west coast of India, and preventing the entrance of any Nestorian prelate. The Syrian Church in India had therefore to struggle on under its archdeacon, with grave doubts disturbing the mind of its clergy and laity as to whether the archidiaconal consecration was sufficient for the ordination of its priests. The overthrow of the Portuguese on the seaboard put an end to this long episcopal blockade. In 1665, the Patriarch of

¹ La Croze, vol. ii. pp. 169, 176, 183, 189, 192, 198, 203, etc.

² La Croze, vol. ii. pp. 204, 205.

Antioch sent a bishop, Mar Gregory, to the orphaned Syrian Church of India. But the new bishop belonged to the Jacobite instead of the Nestorian branch of the Asiatic Church. Indian Nestorianism may therefore be said to have received its death-blow from the Synod of Diamper in 1599.

Since the arrival of Mar Gregory in 1665, the old Syrian Church of India has remained divided into two sects. The *Pazheia kúttakár*, or Old Church, owed its foundation to Archbishop Menezes and the Synod of Diamper in 1599, and its reconciliation, after revolt, to the Carmelite bishop, Joseph of St. Mary, in 1656. It retains in its services the Syrian language and in part the Syrian ritual. But it acknowledges the supremacy of the Pope, and his vicars-apostolic. Its members are now known as Catholics of the Syrian Rite, to distinguish them from the converts made direct from heathenism to the Latin Church by the Roman missionaries. The other section of the Syrian Christians of Malabar is called the *Puttan kúttakár*, or New Church. It adheres to the Jacobite tenets introduced by its first Jacobite bishop, Mar Gregory, in 1665.

Malabar Christians since 1665;

(1) Syrian Catholics, 200,000;

(2) Jacobites, 100,000?

The present Jacobites of Malabar condemn equally the errors of Arius, Nestorius, and the bishops of Rome.¹ They hold that the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist become the Real Body and Blood of Christ, and give communion in both kinds mixed together. They pray for the dead, practise confession, make the sign of the cross, and observe fasts. But they reject the use of images; honour the Mother of Jesus and the Saints only as holy persons and friends of God; allow the consecration of a married layman or deacon to the office of priest; and deny the existence of purgatory. In their Creed they follow the Council of Nicæa (325 A.D.). They believe in the Trinity; assert the One Nature and the One Person of Christ, and declare the procession of the Holy Ghost to be from the Father, instead of from the Father and the Son.²

Tenets of the Malabar Jacobites.

The Syrian Catholics and Syrian Jacobites of Malabar maintain their differences with a high degree of religious vitality at the present day. Their congregations keep themselves distinct from the Catholics of the Latin Rite converted direct from heathenism, and from the Protestant sects. No Nestorian Church is now known to exist in Malabar.³ The Syrian

Nestorianism extinct in Malabar.

¹ *The Syrian Christians of Malabar*, being a Catechism of their doctrine and ritual, by Edavalikel Philipos, Chorepiscopus and Cathanar (i.e. priest) of the Great Church of Cottayam in Travancore, pp. 3, 4, 8 (Parker, 1869).

² The above summary is condensed from the Catechism of Edavalike Philipos, *op. cit.* pp. 9-13, 17, 19.

³ *Idem*, p. 29.

Christians were returned in 1871 at about one-third of a million ; but the Census officers omitted to distinguish between Catholic Syrian and Jacobites. The Catholic Archbishop and Vicar-Apostolic of Verapoli, to whose kind assistance this chapter is indebted in many ways, estimates the Syrian Catholics at 200,000, and the Jacobites at 100,000. The totals for all Southern India cannot, however, be ascertained until the next Census of 1891.

Portu-
guese mis-
sionaries,
1500 A.D.,

identified
with Portu-
guese
aggres-
sions.

Native re-
prisals or
'persecu-
tions.'

Roman friars had visited India since the 13th century. The first regularly equipped Catholic mission, composed of Franciscan brethren, arrived from Portugal in 1500. Their attacks on the native religions seemed part of the Portuguese policy of aggression on the Native States. The pious Portuguese monks were popularly identified with the brutal Portuguese soldiery, whose cruelties have left so deep a stain on early European enterprise in India. The military attempts of the Portuguese, and their ill-treatment of the native princes and the native population, provoked unmerited hatred against the disinterested, if sometimes ill-judged, zeal of the Portuguese missionaries.

Native reprisals, which certain writers have dignified by the name of persecutions, occasionally took place in return for Portuguese atrocities. But the punishments suffered by the friars were usually inflicted for disobedience to the native civil power, or for public attacks on native objects of veneration ; such attacks as are provided for by the clauses in the Anglo-Indian Penal Code, which deal with words or signs calculated to wound the religious feelings of others. Attacks of this kind lead to tumults among an excitable population, and to serious breaches of the peace, often attended with bloodshed. The native princes, alarmed at the combined Portuguese assault on their territory and their religion, could not be expected to decide in such cases with the cold neutrality of an Anglo-Indian magistrate. Father Pedro de Covilham was killed in 1500.

Slow
progress.

Xavier and
the Jesuits,
1542.

For some time, indeed, missionary work was almost confined to the Portuguese settlements, although King Emmanuel (1498-1521) and his son John III. (1521-57) had much at heart the conversion of the Indians. The first bishop in India was Duarte Nunez, a Dominican (1514-17) ; and John de Albuquerque, a Franciscan, was the first bishop of Goa (1539-53). With St. Francis Xavier, who arrived in 1542, began the labours of the Society of Jesus in the East, and the progress of Christianity became more rapid.

St. Francis' name is associated with the Malabar coast, and with the maritime tracts of Madura and Southern Madras.

He completed the conversion of the Paravars in Tinneveli District.¹ His relics repose in a silver shrine at Goa.² His relics were deposited in a silver shrine at Goa.² Xavier.
 Punnaikáyal, in Tinneveli, was the scene, in 1549, of the death of Father Antonio Criminale, the protomartyr of the Society of Jesus; and in the following year, several other lives were lost in preaching the gospel. Goa became an Archbishopric in 1577. In 1596 to 1599, the Archbishop of Goa, Alexis de Menezes, an Augustinian, succeeded in reconciling the Indian Nestorians to Rome; and at the Synod of Diamper (Udayampura, near Cochin) in 1599, the affairs of the Indian Christians were settled. The use of the Syrian rite was retained after it had been purged of its Nestorianism. The later history of the Syrian Christians in Malabar has already been traced.

St. Francis
Xavier.
Alexis de
Menezes.

Syrian rite
reformed,
but re-
tained,
1599.

The Jesuit mission to the Madras coast dates from 1606, and is associated with the names of Robert de Nobili (its founder, who died 1656), John de Britto (killed in Madura 1693), Beschi the great scholar (who died about 1746), and other illustrious Jesuits, chiefly Portuguese.³ They laboured in Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Tinneveli, Salem, etc. The mission of the Karnatic, also a Jesuit mission, was French in its origin, and due in some measure to Louis XIV. in 1700. Its centre was at Pondicherry.

The
Madras
Jesuits.

The early Jesuit missions are particularly interesting. Their priests and monks became perfect Indians in all secular matters, dress, food, etc., and had equal success among all castes, high and low. In the south of the peninsula they brought, as we have seen, the old Christian settlements of the Syrian rite into temporary communion with Rome, and converted large sections of the native population throughout extensive districts. The Society of Jesus had also numerous although less important missions in the north of India. During the 17th and 18th centuries, religious troubles and difficulties arose in Western India through the action of the missionaries in regard to caste observances. Schisms troubled the Church. The Portuguese king claimed, as against the Pope, to appoint the Archbishop of Goa; and the Dutch adventurers for a time persecuted the Catholics along the coast.

Good
work done
by the
Jesuits.

But in the 16th century it seemed as if Christianity was destined to be established by Jesuit preachers throughout

¹ See article TINNEVELLI DISTRICT, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² See article GOA, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

³ See articles MADURA and TINNEVELLI, *idem*.

a large part of India. The literary activity of missionaries belonging to the Order was also very great. Their early efforts in the cause of education, and in printing books in the various languages, are remarkable. De Nobili and Beschi have been named. Fathers Arnauld and Calmette should not be forgotten.

Letters
of the
Jesuits,
16th and
17th cen-
turies.

Jesuit
stations in
India.

Basis of
Portu-
guese rule.

Conquest
and con-
version.

But apart from works of scholarship, the early Indian Jesuits have left literary memorials of much interest and value. Their letters, addressed to the General of the Order in Europe, afford a vivid glimpse into the state of India during the 16th and 17th centuries. One volume,¹ which deals with the period ending in 1570, furnishes by way of preface a topographical guide to the Jesuit stations in the East. Separate sections are devoted to Goa, Cochin, Bassein, Thána, and other places in Western India, including the island of Socotra, in which the Jesuit brethren still found remnants of the Christians of St. Thomas.

The letters, as a whole, disclose at once the vitality and the weakness of the Portuguese position in the East. The Lusitanian conquest of India had a deeper fascination, and appeared at the time to have a higher moral significance for Christendom than afterwards attached to our more hesitating and matter-of-fact operations. Their progress formed a brilliant triumph of military ardour and religious zeal. They resolved not only to conquer India, but also to convert her. Only by slow degrees were they compelled in secret to realize that they had entered on a task, the magnitude of which they had not gauged, and the execution of which proved to be altogether beyond their strength. All that chivalry and enthusiastic piety could effect, they accomplished. But they failed to fulfil either their own hopes, or the expectations which they had raised in the minds of their countrymen at home. Their viceroys had to show to Europe results which they were not able to produce; and so they were fain to accept the shadow for the substance, and in their official despatches to represent appearances as realities. In their military narratives, every petty Rájá or village chief who sent them a few pumpkins or mangoes, becomes a tributary Rex, conquered by their arms or constrained to submission by the terror of their name. In their ecclesiastical epistles, the whole country is a land

¹ *Rerum a Societate Jesu in Oriente Gestarum Volumen*, Coloniae, Anno 1574. It purports to have been translated into Latin from the Spanish. The author has to thank Mr. Ernest Satow, of H.B.M.'s Japanese Legation, for a loan of this curious volume.

flowing with milk and honey, and teeming with a population eager for sacramental rites.

The swift downfall of the Portuguese power, based upon conquest and conversion, will be exhibited in a later chapter. But the Portuguese are the only European nation who have created, or left behind them, a Christian State polity in India. To this day, their East India settlements are territorially arranged in parishes; and the traveller finds himself surrounded by churches and other ecclesiastical features of a Christian country, among the rice-fields and jungles of Goa and Damán. This parochial organization of Portuguese India was the direct result of the political system imposed on the viceroys from Europe. But, indirectly, it represents the method adopted by the Society of Jesus in its efforts at conversion. The Jesuits worked to a large extent by means of industrial settlements. Many of their stations consisted of regular agricultural communities, with lands and a local jurisdiction of their own. Indeed, both in the town and country, conversion went hand in hand with attempts at improved husbandry, or with a training in some mechanical art.

This combination of Christianity with organized labour may best be understood from a description of two individual settlements:¹ Thána, a military agricultural station; and Cochín, a collegiate city and naval port. Thána, says a Jesuit letter-writer in the middle of the 16th century, is a fortified town where the Brethren have a number of converts. Once on a time a wrinkled and deformed old man came to them from distant parts, greatly desiring to be made a Christian. He was accordingly placed before a picture of the Blessed Virgin, and, having sought to kiss the Child, was forthwith baptized. He died in peace and joy next morning. Many boys and girls were likewise bought from the barbarians for a few pence a-piece. These swelled the family of Christ, and were trained up in doctrine and handicrafts. During the day they plied their trades as shoemakers, tailors, weavers, and iron-workers; on their return at evening to the College, they sang the catechism and litanies in alternate choirs. Others of them were employed in agriculture, and went forth to collect fruits or to work with the Christian cultivators in the fields.

There was also a Christian village, the Hamlet of the

¹ The following details were chiefly condensed from the *Rerum a Societate Jesu in Oriente Gestarum Volumen*, already referred to. This book is no longer in the author's possession, and as no copy is procurable in India, the pages cannot be cited nor the exact words verified.

and culti-
vators.

Trinity, 3000 paces off, upon temple lands bought up and consecrated by the Order. The Society had, moreover, certain farms, yielding 300 pieces of gold a year. This money supported the widows and orphans, the sick, and catechumens while engaged in their studies. The poorer converts were encouraged in agriculture by a system of advances. Everything seemed to prosper in the hands of the Jesuit Brethren, and their very goats had kids by couplets and triplets every year. The husbandmen 'are all excellent cultivators and good men,' well skilled in the Mysteries, and constant in the practice of their faith, assembling daily together *ad signum angelicæ salutationis*. 'Even in the woods, boys and men are heard chanting the Ten Commandments in a loud voice from the tops of the palm-trees.'

Jesuit rural
organiza-
tion.

The management of the mission stations seems to have been admirable. Four or five Brothers of the Order regulated alike the secular and the spiritual affairs of each community. One of them was a surgeon, who cured ulcers, sores, and dangerous maladies. The Christian village of the Trinity had, moreover, certain gardens which the inhabitants held in common, well irrigated and rich in *vines*, figs, and medicinal fruits. The catechism was publicly rehearsed once on ordinary days, twice on holidays. They held frequent musical services; the youths chanting the psalms, robed in white. The Thána choristers, indeed, enjoyed such a reputation that they were invited to sing at the larger gatherings at Bassein; and were much employed at funerals, at which they chanted the 'Misericordia' to the admiration alike of Christians and heathens. Besides their civil and secular duties in the town of Thána, and at the Christian village and farms, the Brethren of the Order visited a circle of outposts within a distance of thirty thousand paces; 'to the great gain of their countrymen, whom they strengthen in their faith; and of the natives (*barbari*), whom they reclaim from their errors and superstitions to the religion of Christ.'

Cochin, a
collegiate
city.

The station of Thána discloses the regulated industry, spiritual and secular, which characterized the Jesuit settlements in India. Cochin may be taken to illustrate the educational labours of the Order and its general scheme of operations. The College of the Society, writes brother Hieronymus in 1570,¹ has two grammar schools, attended by 260 pupils, who have made excellent progress both in their studies and in the practice of the Christian sacraments. They are all skilled in

¹ Letter to the General of the Order, dated Cochin, February 1570.

the tenets of the faith; many of them have learned the catechism, arranged in questions and answers, and are now teaching it to the heathen. The rites of confession and communion are in constant use, and resorted to on saints' days by 300 or 400 persons. An equal concourse takes place when Indulgences are promulgated; and on a late occasion, when the jubilee granted by the Pope in 1568 was celebrated, 'such was the importunity of those seeking confession, that our priests could not find a breathing space for rest from morning to night.' At the College Church alone a thousand persons received the Eucharist, chiefly new communicants. A wholesale restitution of fraudulent gains took place, with a general reconciliation of enemies, and a great quickening of the faith in all. 'So vast was the concourse at this single church, without mentioning the other churches in the city, that we had from time to time to push out the throngs from the edifice into the courtyard, not without tears and lamentation on their part.'

The College of the Order likewise ministered to the Portuguese fleet stationed off Cochin; and the writer relates, with perhaps pardonable exaggeration, the strict discipline which the Brethren maintained among both officers and men. During the winter they had also collected a fund, and with it redeemed five Portuguese who, the year before, had fallen into captivity among 'the Moors.' These men, on coming to offer up public thanksgiving in church, edified the worthy fathers by relating how the Christians still remaining in captivity continued firm in the Catholic faith, although sorely tormented *incommodis et cruciatibus*. They told how one youth, in particular, 'who had attended our school, on being tied to a tree and threatened by the Moors with bows and arrows, had bravely answered that he would give up his life rather than his faith.' Upon which the Moors seem to have laid aside their lethal weapons, and let the lad off with a few kicks and cuffs. Another boy had at first apostatized; but his fellow-captives, foremost among them a nobleman of high station, threw themselves at his feet, and begged him to stand firm. The boy burst into tears, and declared that he had been led astray by terror, but that he would now rather die than abandon his religion. He proved himself as good as his word, rushed in front of his persecutors, and openly proclaimed himself to be still a Christian. 'The Moors,' as usual, seem to have taken the affair with much good nature; and, after another little comedy of tying him to a tree and threatening to shoot him and cut his throat, let their young apostate go.

Jesuit
College at
Cochin.

Jesuit
itineraries.

'I come now,' continues Father Hieronymus, 'to the harvest of this year.' He goes on to describe the work of itinerating, from which we gather that the King of Cochin was friendly rather than otherwise to the members of the Order and their converts, protecting them by letters patent, and even giving rise to hopes of his own conversion. No fewer than 220 natives were baptized in one day; and the Father adduces, as a proof of their sincerity, the fact that they did not expect any material advantage from their conversion. 'For neither do they look for a present of new clothes at their baptism, nor for anything else from us, excepting spiritual food. They think themselves greatly honoured by the name of Christians, and labour to bring others to the truth.' Among the converts the Nairs figure a good deal; and an acolyte of this race, notwithstanding that he was harassed by the 'older Christians,' brought in other Nairs, by twos and threes, for baptism. The worthy Father uses 'Nair' as the name of 'a certain military class,' and so touches on the actual position held by this tribe three hundred years ago.

Conver-
sions.

Conversion was not, however, always without its troubles. The story of a young Moor, whose mother was a cruel woman, and buried him in the ground up to his mouth for turning a Christian, is told with honest pride. His unkind parent likewise placed a huge stone round his head, designing that he should die a slow and painful death. But the boy managed to peep through a cleft in the stone, and spied some travellers passing that way, whereupon, although he had formerly known nothing of Latin, he managed to shout out the two words, '*exopto Christum.*' On hearing this, the travellers dug up the lad and took him before the Governor, who, in an obliging manner, gave over the boy to the College to be baptized, and sent the mother to prison. The neophytes seem to have been spirited lads; and the Father narrates how about two thousand of them took part in the military games held when the fleet was lying off Cochin, and distinguished themselves so greatly with various sorts of darts and weapons, that 'they came next to the Portuguese soldiers.'

Efforts at
royal con-
versions.

The College took advantage of the illness of the king during the course of the year to try to convert him; but his majesty, although civil and friendly, declined their well-meaning efforts. They were more successful with two 'petty Rájás' (*reguli*) in the neighbourhood, who, 'being desirous of the Portuguese friendship,' professed an interest in spiritual matters on behalf of themselves and people. Three hundred, apparently of their

subjects, promised to get themselves baptized as soon as a church should be built. 'But,' concludes the candid chronicler, 'as this particular people have a grievously bad reputation as liars, it is much to be prayed for that they will keep their word.' From another instance of a royal conversion, it appears that the introduction of Christianity, with 'letters of privilege' to converts, was a favourite method among the weaker Rájás for securing a Portuguese alliance.

The story of the Catholic missions thus graphically told by the *Rerum Gestarum Volumen* of the 16th century, is continued for the 17th and 18th by the letters from the Jesuit Fathers in Malabar. These letters have been edited by Le Père Bertrand in four volumes, which throw an important light, not only upon the progress of Christianity in India, but also upon the social and political state of the native kingdoms in which that progress was made.¹ The keynote to the policy of the Society of Jesus, in its work of Indian evangelization, is given in the following words:—'The Christian religion cannot be regarded as naturalized in a country, until it is in a position to propagate its own priesthood.'²

This was the secret of the wide and permanent success of the Catholic missions; it was also the source of their chief troubles. For in founding Christianity on an indigenous basis, the Fathers had to accept the necessity of recognising indigenous customs and native prejudices in regard to caste. The disputes which arose divided the Jesuit missionaries for many years, and had to be referred, not only to the General of the Order, but to the Pope himself. The *Question des Rites Malabares* occupies many pages in Père Bertrand's volumes.³ In the end, a special class of native priests was assigned to the low castes, while an upper class ministered to the Indians of higher degree. The distinction was rigidly maintained in the churches. Père Bertrand gives the plan of a

The Malabar Mission, 17th and 18th centuries.

Question of caste.

¹ *Mémoires Historiques sur les Missions des ordres religieux* (1 vol. 2nd ed., Paris, 1862): *La Mission du Maduré d'après des documents inédits* (3 vols., Paris, 1848, 1850, 1854). The first edition of the *Mémoires Historiques* (Paris, 1847) formed apparently an introduction to the three volumes of Letters which constitute Père Bertrand's *La Mission du Maduré*. The author takes this opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to the authorities of St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, for the loan of Père Bertrand's works, and for much kind assistance in his inquiries.

² Condensed from Père Bertrand, *Missions*, vol. i. p. 1.

³ For example, *Mémoires Historiques*, vol. i. pp. 353 et seq. Indeed, this volume is largely devoted to the polemics of the question. Also *La Mission du Maduré*, vol. ii. pp. 140 et seq.; vol. iv. pp. 404 to 496; and in many other places of Père Bertrand's work.

Malabar church as laid before the sovereign Pontiff in 1725, which shows a systematic demarcation between the high and low castes even during divine service. Whatever may have been lost of the primitive Christian equality by this system, it had the merit of being adapted to native habits of thought, and it was perhaps unavoidable in an Indian church which endeavoured to base itself upon an indigenous priesthood.¹ The adoption of native terms by the Jesuit Fathers, such as *guru*, teacher; *sanyási*, hermit, etc., also led to embittered discussions.

Letters
from
Malabar,
17th and
18th cen-
turies.

Political
events.

Miracles.

Martyr-
doms.

The letters disclose, however, other and more agreeable aspects of the early missions to India. A few of them complain of the dangers and discomforts of missionary life in a tropical climate and among a suspicious people.² But, as a rule, they are full of keen observation and triumphant faith. Some of them are regularly divided into two parts; the first being devoted to the secular history of the period, or 'Evénements politiques;' the second to the current affairs and progress of the mission. Others are of a topographical and statistical character. Many of them record signs and wonders vouchsafed on behalf of their labours. A pagan woman, for example, who had been possessed of a devil from birth, is delivered from her tormentor by baptism, and enters into a state of joy and peace. Another native lady, who had determined to burn herself on her husband's funeral pile, and had resisted the counter entreaties of her family and the Village Head, miraculously renounced her intention when sprinkled with ashes consecrated by the priest. Throughout, the letters breathe a desire for martyrdom, and a spiritual exultation in sufferings endured for the cause.

One very touching epistle is written by de Britto from his prison the day before his execution. 'I await death,' he writes to the Father Superior, 'and I await it with impatience. It has always been the object of my prayers. It forms to-day the most precious reward of my labours and my sufferings.'³ Another letter relates the punishment of Father de Saa, several of whose teeth were knocked out by blows, so that he almost died under the pain (A.D. 1700). His tormentor was, however, miraculously punished and converted to the faith.⁴ The more

¹ The plan of the church is given at p. 434 of Père Bertrand's *Mission du Maduré*, vol. iv. ed. 1854. The merits of the question are so fully discussed in that volume that it is unnecessary to reopen the question here.

² For example, *Lettre du Père Balihasar*, dated Tanjore, 1653, *op. cit.* vol. iii. pp. 1 *et seq.*

³ *La Mission du Maduré*, vol. iii. p. 447. Letter dated 3rd February 1693.

⁴ Vol. iv. pp. 63-68.

striking events take place in Malabar and Cochin. But in other parts of India, also, there were triumphs and sufferings. 'Even here,' writes Père Petit from Pondicherry, 'we are not altogether without some hope of martyrdom, the crown of apostleship.'¹ It is natural that such writers should regard as martyrs, their brethren who fell victims to popular tumults stirred up by their own preaching. Penalties for sectarian affrays, or for insults to the native religions, such as would now be punished by the Indian Penal Code, figure as 'persecutions.' The Salvationists have of late suffered several 'persecutions' of this sort from Anglo-Indian magistrates.

Nor are the literary labours of the Fathers without a fitting record. Bishop Caldwell lately expressed his regret that the biography of Father Beschi, the Tamil scholar and poet, should yet be unwritten.² But the defect is supplied, not only in an elaborate notice of Beschi's life and works, but also by Beschi's own letters to the General of the Order.³ Several epistles of de Nobili are of scarcely less interest in the annals of Indian Christianity.

The arguments of the Catholic missionaries were enforced by the weapons of the secular power. In 1560, the Portuguese established the Inquisition at Goa, under the Dominican Order. At first the establishment was of a modest and tentative character; the functionaries numbering only five, and the whole salaries amounting in 1565 to £71 a year.⁴ But by degrees it extended its operations, until in 1800 the functionaries numbered 47. The Goa Inquisition has formed the subject of much exaggerated rumour, and the narrative of one of its prisoners startled and shocked Europe during the seventeenth century.⁵ Dr. Claudius Buchanan recalled public attention to the subject by his vividly coloured letters at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁶ The calmer narrative of Da Fonseca, derived from the archives of Goa, proves that the reality was sufficiently terrible. No continuous statistics exist of the

Literary
labours of
the Jesuits.

The Portu-
guese In-
quisition,
1560-1812.

¹ Vol. iv. p. 158.

² *A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevely*, by Bishop Caldwell (Madras Government Press, 1881), p. 239.

³ Père Bertrand, vol. iv. pp. 342-375.

⁴ *O Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. iv. p. 51. Quoted in Fonseca's *Goa*, p. 217 (Bombay, 1878).

⁵ *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*, by the Physician Dellon, who was confined in one of its cells in 1674. Pyrard, Fryer, and other travellers have also left notices of the Goa Inquisition.

⁶ See his *Letters and Journal* dated 1808, pp. 150-176 of *Christian Researches in Asia*, 4th ed. (1811).

Number of
autos da fé punishments inflicted. But the records repeatedly speak of the necessity for additional cells, and in 1674 they numbered two hundred. Seventy-one *autos da fé*, or general jail deliveries, are mentioned between 1600 and 1773. The total number of persons condemned on these occasions is unknown. But at a few of the *autos* it is said that '4046 persons were sentenced to various kinds of punishment, of whom 3034 were males and 1012 females.'¹ These punishments included 105 men and 16 women condemned to the flames, of whom 57 were burned alive and 64 in effigy.

Christians
set ex-
ample of
religious
persecu-
tion. It is not necessary to inquire how far such examples of religious punishment in Portuguese territory were responsible for the persecution of the Catholic missionaries in Cochin and Malabar. Nor, in passing judgment on the Hindu princes, should we forget the perpetual military aggressions and occasional cold-blooded massacres by the Portuguese on the southern and western coasts. Christian missions in Northern India had scarcely anything to fear from the native powers. Indeed, under Akbar, and almost throughout the entire period of the Mughal Emperors until the accession of Aurungzeb, Christianity seems to have been regarded with an enlightened interest, and certainly without disfavour, by the Delhi court. More than one of the Mughal queens and princes are said to have been Christians; and the faith was represented both by Imperial grants and in the Imperial seraglio. Many of the great Hindu Feudatories also displayed a courteous indifference to the Christian missionaries, and a liberal recognition of their scientific and secular attainments.

Inquisition
abolished
1812. The Inquisition at Goa was temporarily suspended in 1774, but re-established in 1779. It was abolished in 1812, and the ancient palace in which it had been held was pulled down in 1820. The *débris* were finally removed in 1859 on the occasion of the exposition of the body of St. Francis Xavier.²

The
Jesuit sup-
pressed,
1759-73. In 1759, Portugal broke up the Society of Jesus, seized its property, and imprisoned its members. France did the same in 1764; and to prevent greater evils, Clement xiv. in 1773 was forced to suppress the Society altogether. The French Revolution followed. These events deprived the Indian

¹ Da Fonseca's *Goa*, p. 220. The original authorities quoted are *O Chronista de Tissuary, Historia dos Principaes actos e Procedimentos da Inquisição em Portugal*, Lisboa, 1845, p. 38; and F. N. Xavier in the *Gabinete Litterario*, vol. iii. pp. 89 and 280; *Narração da Inquisição de Goa*, pp. 143 *et seq.* (Nova Goa, 1866).

² A popular account of its history will be found in Mr. E. Rehatsek's 'Holy Inquisition at Goa,' *Calcutta Review*, No. 145, April 1881.

Jesuit missions alike of priests and of funds, and for a long time they languished, served in the south only by a few priests from Goa and Pondicherri. That dismal period, however, presents some illustrious names; among them two well-known writers, the Abbé Dubois of Mysore, and the Carmelite Fra Paolino de San Bartholomeo (in India 1774-90). In the absence of priests to sustain the courage of the Christians, every occasional or local persecution told. Tipú, about 1784, forcibly circumcised 30,000 Catholics of Kánara, and deported them to the country above the Gháts. Many native Christians lived and died without ever seeing a priest; they baptized their own children, taught them the prayers, and kept up daily worship in their churches.

Better days, however, dawned. In 1814, the Society of The Jesus was re-established; under Gregory XVI., its missions began a new life, and have since made great progress. Their prosperity is, however, hampered by the action taken in Europe against the religious orders. The claims of Portugal to appoint the Archbishop of Goa, and through him to regulate clerical patronage, as opposed to the right of the Pope, have occasioned schisms in the past, and still give rise to discord.

The Roman Catholics throughout all India, British, Feudal, and Foreign, number altogether 1,356,037 souls, as returned in the table to be presently given from the *Madras Catholic Directory* for 1885. The Census Report of 1881, adding the latest figures for Portuguese and French India, gives a total of 1,248,801.

The Roman Catholic missions are maintained by many of the European nations, and are nearly equally divided between the secular and regular clergy. Almost every mission contains a mixture of races among its priests; even Holland, Scotland, and Germany being ably represented. Although all are directed by Europeans, seven-eighths of the priests are natives. It is also worthy of remark that, in the list of bishops during the last 300 years, the names of several natives are found, some of them Bráhmans. The Roman Catholic missions are presided over by sixteen bishops (vicars and prefects apostolic), the delegates of the Pope, who governs the missions himself, without the intervention of the Camera. Side by side with these papal vicars-apostolic, who are also bishops, the Archbishop of Goa (appointed by the King of Portugal) has an independent jurisdiction over a certain number of Catholics outside his diocese, who are scattered over India, but chiefly in the south. The prefect-apostolic of Pondicherri

Jesuits
re-estab-
lished,
1814.

Number of
Roman
Catholics
in India.

Organiza-
tion of the
Roman
Catholic
missions.

Arch-
bishop of
Goa.

presides over the Catholics in several British Districts and throughout the southern French possessions. In Pondicherry he has technically jurisdiction only over 'those who wear hats.'

It is separate jurisdiction.

The independent jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa, and the dissensions to which it gave rise, have been referred to. It had its origin in the *Jus patronatus* granted by Pope Clement VIII. to King Philip. By the Pontifical Bull, the

Jus patronatus 1600.

Portuguese king was charged with the support of the Catholic churches in India, and in return was invested with the patronage of their clergy. On the ruin of the Portuguese power in India by the Dutch, it was held that the sovereign was no longer in a position to fulfil his part of the agreement. The Indian clergy became a growing charge upon Rome.

Curtailed, 1673.

In 1673, therefore, Clement X. abrogated the jurisdiction of the Portuguese Archbishop of Goa beyond the limits of the Portuguese settlements. In 1674, two Briefs declared that the Portuguese bishops had no authority over the vicars and missionaries-apostolic sent from Rome to India. These orders only produced a long ecclesiastical dispute. Accordingly, in 1837, Gregory XVI. published his Bull, *Multa praeclare*, dividing the whole of India into vicariates-apostolic, and forbade the Goanese prelates to interfere in their management.

Concordat of 1857.

The Portuguese Archbishop of Goa disregarded this decree, and the *Indo-Lusitanum schisma* continued until 1861. In 1857, a concordat was agreed to by the Pope and the King of Portugal, by which such churches as were then under the apostolic vicars should remain under the same, while those which then acknowledged the Goanese jurisdiction should

Settlement of 1861.

continue under the Archbishop of Goa. In 1861, joint commissioners were sent out from Rome and Portugal to put this arrangement into execution. In the end, the Pope granted for some time, '*ad tempus*,' to the Archbishop of Goa an extraordinary jurisdiction over certain churches, served by Goanese priests, but beyond the Portuguese dominions. Such churches are still to be found in Malabar, Madura, Ceylon, Madras, Bombay, and apparently in the lower delta of Bengal. It is intended that this independent jurisdiction of the Portuguese Archbishop of Goa shall in time lapse to the vicars-apostolic appointed from Rome. But meanwhile it continues to this day, and still gives rise to occasional disputes.¹

¹ The foregoing two paragraphs on the extraordinary jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa are condensed from ms. materials supplied to the author by the papal Vicar-Apostolic of Verapoli.

As the ecclesiastical and civil divisions of India do not correspond, it is difficult to compare missionary with official statistics. The Catholics in French territory numbered, according to the *Madras Catholic Directory* for 1885, 33,226, and in Portuguese territory in 1881, 252,477. This leaves 1,070,334 Catholics for British India and the Native States, according to the *Madras Directory* for 1885, or 963,058 according to the Census Report of 1881. Catholics are most numerous in the Native States of Travancore and Cochin (comprised in the vicariates of Verapoli and Quilon). The archdiocese of Goa, with 660 priests, nearly all natives, for a very small territory containing over 250,000 Catholics, is a witness to the sternly proselytizing system of the Portuguese.

Verapoli, the smallest in area of the Roman vicariates, contains the largest number of priests and Catholics. These are chiefly the descendants of the Nestorians converted to Rome in the 16th century, and were divided by the Census of 1881 into two classes—of the Syrian rite, 141,386, and of the Latin rite, 80,600. They were directed by 14 European Carmelite priests, and by 375 native priests, 39 of the Latin rite, and 336 of the Syrian rite.

The Census of 1881 returned the Syrian Christians altogether apart from the Roman Catholics, but did not distinguish between Jacobites and Catholics of the Syrian rite. Out of a total of 304,410 Syrians in all India, 301,442 are returned by the Census Report as within the Native States of Travancore and Cochin (the vicariates of Verapoli and Quilon). The Census Report returned the total number of Roman Catholics in Travancore and Cochin at 274,734; while the returns officially accepted by the heads of the Catholic Church give the number in the *Madras Catholic Directory* at 378,096. From private inquiries since made, it appears that the discrepancy arises from the fact that the number of Catholics was underrated at the time of the Census. About 100,000 Roman Catholics of the Syrian rite, belonging to the jurisdiction of the vicars-apostolic of Verapoli and Quilon, seem to have been included among the Syrian Jacobites.

The Pondicherri and Madura vicariates represent parts of the famous Jesuit missions of Madura and of the Karnatic. In Bombay city, and along the fertile maritime strip or Konkan between the Western Gháts and the sea, the Roman Catholics form an important section of the native population.

The following table shows the Roman Catholic population for all India, as returned by the authorities of the Church.

ROMAN CATHOLIC POPULATION OF BRITISH INDIA AND
NATIVE STATES.

(According to the 'Madras Catholic Directory' for 1885.)

| | Number. |
|---|-----------|
| Vicariate-Apostolic of Madras, | 56,548 |
| „ „ Haidarabad (Nizam's Dominions), | 9,100 |
| „ „ Vizagapatam, | 13,287 |
| „ „ Mysore, | 27,429 |
| „ „ Coimbatore, | 24,027 |
| „ „ Madura, | 176,169 |
| „ „ Quilon (South Travancore), | 97,496 |
| „ „ Verapoli (North Travancore and Cochin), | 280,600 |
| „ „ Mangalore, | 76,000 |
| „ „ Pondicherry (within British Territory), | 174,441 |
| „ „ Bombay, | 51,025 |
| „ „ Agra, | 8,400 |
| „ „ Patna, | 10,000 |
| „ „ Punjab, | 5,900 |
| „ „ Western Bengal, | 18,000 |
| Prefecture-Apostolic of Central Bengal, | 1,678 |
| Vicariate-Apostolic of Eastern Bengal, | 16,000 |
| „ „ Southern Burma, | 17,580 |
| „ „ Eastern Burma, | 6,654 |
| Total in British India and Native States, | 1,070,334 |

ROMAN CATHOLIC POPULATION OF PORTUGUESE
SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA.

(According to the Census of February 17th, 1881.)

| | |
|---|---------|
| Goa, | 250,645 |
| Daman, | 1,497 |
| Diu, | 335 |
| Total in Portuguese Settlements in India, | 252,477 |

ROMAN CATHOLIC POPULATION OF FRENCH
SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA.

(According to the 'Madras Catholic Directory' for 1885.)

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Pondicherry, | 18,889 |
| Karikal, | 12,787 |
| Chandannagar, | 300 |
| Yanaon, | 450 |
| Mahé, | 800 |
| Total in French Settlements in India, | 33,226 |
| Grand Total in British, Native, and Foreign India, | 1,356,037 |

The Roman Catholics in India steadily increase; and as in former times, the increase is chiefly in the south, especially in the missions of Pondicherri and Madura. The number of Catholics in British and French India and the Native States, but exclusive of the Portuguese Possessions, rose from 732,887 in 1851, to 934,400 in 1871, and to 1,103,560 in 1881. The Pondicherri mission lately performed over 50,000 adult baptisms in three years. In the Madura vicariate, the increase is principally in Tinneveli and Rámnád. The converts are chiefly agriculturists, but are by no means confined to the low castes.

The principal Catholic colleges in India are those of the Society of Jesus, at Calcutta, Bombay, and Negapatam. Another Jesuit college has lately been opened at Mangalore in South Kánara, a District in which there are over 3000 Catholic Bráhmans. England, being a Protestant country, supplies few priests, and hence Catholic missions have much difficulty in maintaining colleges where English is the vehicle of higher education. The statistics of the Catholic schools are incomplete, owing to want of information about certain parts of the Goa jurisdiction. But the number of Catholic schools actually returned in 1880, including Goa, was 1514, with 51,610 pupils. In British India and the Native States, the children in Catholic schools increased from 28,249 in 1871, to 44,699 in 1881.

The Roman Catholics work in India with slender pecuniary resources. They derive their main support from two great Catholic organizations, the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, and the Society of the Holy Childhood. The former contributes £24,464 yearly to Indian missions, and the latter £12,300, making a total of £36,764. This is exclusive of the expenditure within the Archbishopric of Goa; but it represents the European contributions to the whole Vicariates under the Pope. In 1880 they maintained a staff of 16 bishops and 1118 priests, teaching 1236 schools, with 40,907 pupils, and giving religious instruction to 1,002,379 native Christians. The Roman Catholic priests deny themselves the comforts considered necessities for Europeans in India. In many Districts they live the frugal and abstemious life of the natives, and their influence reaches deep into the social life of the communities among whom they dwell.

The first Protestant missionaries in India were Lutherans, Ziegenbalg and Plutschau, who in 1705 began work under the patronage of the King of Denmark at the Danish settlement

Catholic progress.

Pondicherri Mission.

Catholic colleges,

and schools.

First Protestant missions, 1705.

Transla-
tion of the
Bible,
1725.

of Tranquebar. Ziegenbalg and many of the early Lutheran missionaries were men of great ability; and, besides their translations of the Scriptures, some of their writings still hold a high place in missionary literature. Ziegenbalg began the translation of the Bible into Tamil, and his successor Schultze completed it in 1725. This was the first Protestant translation of the Scriptures in India. Schultze also translated the whole Bible into Hindustáni. Ziegenbalg died in 1719, leaving 355 converts. In spite of the patronage of the Kings of Denmark and England, and the liberal assistance of friends in Europe, the Lutheran mission made at first but slow progress, and was much hindered and opposed by the local Danish authorities. Gradually it extended itself into Madras, Cuddalore, and Tanjore; schools were set up, and conversion and education went hand in hand.

Schwartz
in Tan-
jore,
1750-98.
Serampur
mission-
aries.

In 1750, arrived the pious Schwartz, whose name is bound up with the history of Tanjore and adjacent Districts until his death in 1798. He was the founder of the famous Tinneveli missions.¹ Next to the Lutherans come the Baptists of Serampur, with the honoured names of Carey, Marshman, and Ward. In the 18th century, the English East India Company did not discourage the labours of Protestant missionaries. It had allowed Kiernander, originally sent out by the Danes, to establish himself at Calcutta in 1758. But subsequently, it put every obstacle in the way of missionaries, and deported them back to England on their landing. Carey arrived in 1793. In 1799, to avoid the opposition of the English East India Company, he established himself with four other missionaries at Serampur (15 miles from Calcutta), at that time, like Tranquebar, a Danish possession. Then began that wonderful literary activity which has rendered illustrious the group of 'Serampur missionaries.' In ten years, the Bible was translated, and printed, in whole or part, in 31 languages; and by 1816, the missionaries had about 700 converts. The London Missionary Society (established 1795) entered the field in 1798, and its missions have gradually grown into importance.

Kiernander in
Calcutta,
1758.

Carey,
1793.

31 transla-
tions of the
Bible.

Official
opposi-
tion with-
drawn,
1813.

The opposition of the East India Company continued till 1813, when it was removed by the new Charter. The same document provided for the establishment of the bishopric of Calcutta, and three archdeaconries, one for each Presidency. Up to this period the Established Church of England had attempted no direct missionary work, although some of the East India Company's chaplains had been men of zeal, like the

¹ See article TINNEVELLI, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

ardent Henry Martyn (1806-11). The first Bishop of Calcutta (Middleton) arrived in 1814. From this time the Church of England has constantly kept up a missionary connection with India, chiefly by means of its two great societies—the Church Missionary Society, which sent out its first representative in 1814; and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which did so in 1826. Their most successful stations are in Southern India, where they have gathered in the seed sown by the Lutheran missions. The second Bishop of Calcutta was the well-known Heber (1823-26). In 1835, under a new Charter of the East India Company, the see of Madras was established, and in 1837, that of Bombay. In 1877, owing to the extension of mission work in Tinneveli, two missionaries were appointed bishops, as assistants to the Bishop of Madras; the dioceses of Lahore and Rangoon also were separated from Calcutta, and bishops appointed. The missionary bishopric of Travancore and Cochin was established in 1879. It has no connection with Government, nor have the assistant bishops in Madras.

The first missionary of the Church of Scotland was Dr. Alexander Duff (1830-63), to whom the use of English as the vehicle of higher education in India is largely due. Missionaries of numerous other Protestant societies (European and American) have since entered India, and established numbers of churches and schools. They have furnished memorable names to the roll of Indian educators, such as Judson (Baptist) in Burma, 1813-50, and John Wilson (Presbyterian) of Bombay, 1843-75.

The progress of the several Protestant missions in India may be thus stated:—In 1830 there were 9 societies at work, and about 27,000 native Protestants in all India, Ceylon, and Burma. By 1870 there were no less than 35 societies at work; and in 1871 there were 318,363 converts (including Ceylon, etc., as above). In 1852 there were 459 Protestant missionaries, and in 1872 there were 606. Between 1856 and 1878, the converts made by the Baptist Societies of England and America, in India, Ceylon, and Burma, increased from about 30,000 to between 80,000 and 90,000. Those of the Basle missions of Germany multiplied from 1060 to upwards of 6000; those of the Wesleyan Methodist missions of England and America, from 7500 to 12,000; those of the American Board, from 3302 to

Bishopric
of Cal-
cutta,
1814.

Indian
Sees.

Presby-
terian mi-
sions,
1830-63.
Other
missions.

Statistics
of Pro-
testant
missions.

Progress,
1856 to
1878.

Protestant progress, 1856-1878. about 12,000; those of the Presbyterian missions of Scotland, England, Ireland, and America, connected with 10 societies, from 821 to 10,000; those of the missions of the London Missionary Society, from 20,077 to 48,000; and those of the Church Missionary Society and of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, from 61,442 to upwards of 164,000.¹

Great increase of native Protestants, 1851-1881. The increased activity of the Protestant missionary bodies in India, during the past third of a century, may be seen from the table² on the following page. Between 1851 and 1881, the number of mission stations has increased nearly threefold; while the number of Native Protestant Christians has multiplied by more than fivefold, the number of communicants by nearly tenfold, and the number of churches or congregations by sixteenfold. This is partly due to the extended employment of native agency in the work. The native ordained pastors have been increased from 21 in 1851 to 575 in 1881, and the native lay preachers from 493 to 2856. The Protestant Church in India has greatly gained in strength by making a freer use of, and reposing a more generous confidence in, its native agents. Its responsible representatives report the increase of Native Christians in India, Burma, and Ceylon,³ from 1851 to 1861, at 53 per cent.; from 1861 to 1871, at 61 per cent.; and from 1871 to 1881, at 86 per cent.

School work of Protestant missions. The activity of the Protestant missions has not, however, been confined to the propagation of their faith. Their services to education, and especially in the instruction of the people in the vernacular languages, will hereafter be referred to. But the vast extension of these services during late years is less generally recognised. The number of pupils in Protestant mission schools and colleges has risen from 64,043 in 1851 to 196,360 in 1881, or more than threefold. The standard of instruction has risen at an equal pace, and the mission institutions successfully compete with the Government colleges at the examinations of the Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay Universities. Female education has always formed a subject

Its rapid development, 1851-81.

Female education.

¹ The Rev. M. A. Sherring, in the *Chronicle of the London Missionary Society*, August 1879.

² Compiled from *The Statistical Tables for 1881*, issued under instructions of the Calcutta Missionary Conference (Thacker, Spink, & Co., Calcutta, 1882). It should be remembered that the statistical organization was more perfect in 1881 than in 1851. To Mr. W. Rees Philipps this chapter is indebted for many materials and figures regarding Indian Christian missions in their earlier years.

³ The table given on next page deals only with India and Burma, and excludes Ceylon. *Op. cit.* pp. x. and xiii.

of peculiar care among the missionary bodies. The number of girls' day schools belonging to Protestant missions in India alone has risen from 285 in 1851 to 1120 in 1881. This is exclusive of girls' boarding schools and *zanāna* work. The total number of female pupils, under Protestant mission teaching in India alone, exclusive of Burma, has multiplied from 11,193 in 1851 to 57,893 in 1881.

The great success of the missionaries of late years in their school work, as in their preaching, is due to the extended use of native agency. Complete statistics are available on this point only for 1871 and 1881. The number of 'Foreign'¹ and Eurasian male teachers belonging to Protestant missions in India and Burma, has decreased from 146 in 1871 to 101 in 1881; while the native Christian teachers have been doubled, from 1978 in 1851 to 3675 in 1881. In 1881, there were also 2468 non-Christian native teachers employed; making a total of 6143 native teachers in missionary employ in 1881, against 101 'Foreign' and Eurasian teachers. The native female teachers, Christian and non-Christian, have increased from 863 in India and Burma in 1871, to 1996 in 1881. The following table may now be left to speak for itself:—

SUMMARY OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN INDIA
AND BURMA.

| | Number in 1851. | Number in 1861. | Number in 1871. | Number in 1881. |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Stations, | 222 | 337 | 448 | 601 |
| Foreign ^a and Eurasian or- dained agents, | 339 | 501 | 517 | 622 |
| Native ordained agents, . | 21 | 143 | 302 | 575 |
| Foreign and Eurasian lay preachers, | ... | ... | ... | 77 |
| Native lay preachers, . . | 493 | 1,677 | 2,344 | 2,856 |
| Churches or congregations, | 267 | 643 | 2,631 | 4,180 |
| Native Christians, . . . | 91,092 | 198,097 | 286,987 | 492,882 |
| Communicants, | 14,661 | 43,415 | 73,330 | 138,254 |
| Male pupils in schools, . . | 52,850 ^b | 64,828 | 100,750 | 138,477 |
| Female pupils in schools, . | 11,193 ^b | 17,035 | 27,627 | 57,893 |
| Total male and female pupils, | 64,043 ^b | 81,863 | 128,377 | 196,360 ^c |

^a Including British, European, American, and all others, not natives of India.

^b The pupils for 1851 were in India only; no returns being available for Burma for that year.

^c The return of total pupils is exclusive of 65,728 boys and girls attending Sunday schools. The returns for 1851 and 1861 are as a whole less complete than those for 1871 and 1881.

¹ Including British, European, American, and all non-Indian teachers.

General
Statistics
of Chris-
tian popu-
lation in
India.

European
and
Native.

The foregoing pages have briefly traced the history of Christianity in India, and disclose the recent progress made by its main branches, Catholic and Protestant, among the natives. It remains to exhibit the Christian population as a whole, including both Europeans and Indians. In comparing the results, it must be borne in mind that the figures have been derived from various sources, and that the areas of enumeration in some cases overlap each other. Thus, the jurisdictions of the Catholic vicars-apostolic supply a basis for calculation which differs from the territorial areas adopted by the Census of British India. Every effort has been made to allow for such causes of error, and to render the following tables a true presentment of the Christian population of India, British, Feudatory, and Foreign. It will be observed that the total number of Christians has increased during the nine years from 1872 to 1881 by 365,251. In British India alone the increase has been 270,807, or 30·2 per cent. The total number of Christians was 2,148,228 in 1881, as against 1,782,977 in 1872.

TOTAL CHRISTIAN POPULATION IN INDIA IN 1872 AND
IN 1881.

| | 1872. | 1881. | Increase. | Percentage of Increase. | |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------------------------|---|
| In British India, . | 897,682 | 1,168,489 | 270,807 | 30·2 | } Figures for 1872 less complete than for 1881. |
| In Native States, . | 620,295 | 694,036 | 73,741 | 11·9 | |
| In Portuguese India, . | 235,000 | 252,477 | 17,477 | 7·4 | |
| In French India, . | 30,000 | 33,226 | 3,226 | 10·7 | |
| Total, . | 1,782,977 | 2,148,228 | 365,251 | 20·4 | |

Denomi-
national
Statistics,
1881.

The Census of 1881 returned the Christian population in British and Native India, according to sect. This return is useful as affording a test of the figures given in the foregoing pages from the Roman Catholic and Protestant missions. It will be observed that the two sets of figures practically agree, allowing for differences in the areas of the enumeration. In the total for all India these sources of discrepancy disappear; but it must be remembered that that total includes both Europeans and natives.

CHRISTIAN POPULATION OF INDIA ACCORDING TO SECT
(As returned by the Census of 1881).

| | Church of England. | Church of Scotland. | Lutherans | Other Protestant Sects | Roman Catholics. | Syrians. | Greeks and Armenians | Others and Unspecified. | Total. |
|--|--------------------|---------------------|-----------|------------------------|------------------|----------|----------------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| BRITISH DISTRICTS. | | | | | | | | | |
| Madras, | 18,218 | 1,637 | 4,667 | 20,611 | 473,352 | 2,885 | 374 | 25,003 ¹ | 711,037 |
| Bombay, | 1,109 | 5,762 | 80 | 2,286 | 109,456 | 6 | 56 | 10,574 | 138,317 |
| Bengal, | 34,600 | 3,939 | 23,573 | 18,962 | 26,725 | 47 | 1,383 | 20,741 | 128,100 |
| Punjab, | 20,833 | 1,619 | 4 | 1,063 | 8,021 | 10 | 31 | 3,420 | 33,400 |
| North-Western Provinces and Oudh, | 27,924 | 3,413 | 483 | 3,212 | 9,384 | 2 | 85 | 3,006 | 47,619 |
| Central Provinces, | 1,676 | 715 | 17 | 222 | 5,833 | ... | 11 | 11,949 | 11,965 |
| Assam, | ... | 209 | 221 | 3,320 | 351 | ... | 5 | 1,227 | 7,190 |
| Berâr, | ... | 71 | ... | 41 | 469 | ... | ... | 595 | 1,335 |
| Alinere, | ... | 60 | ... | 51 | 468 | ... | 15 | 225 | 928 |
| Coorg, | ... | 35 | 152 | 51 | 2,588 | ... | ... | 98 | 3,152 |
| British Burma, | 9,980 | 635 | 346 | 56,112 | 11,281 | ... | 226 | 615 | 84,215 |
| Total in British India, | 282,284 | 18,825 | 29,568 | 105,418 | 652,999 | 2,068 | 2,132 | 74,205 | 1,108,489 |
| NATIVE STATES. | | | | | | | | | |
| Bombay, | 45 | 95 | 1 | 29 | 6,059 | ... | ... | 615 | 6,837 |
| Central Provinces, | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 17 | 24 |
| Punjab, | 157 | 90 | ... | ... | 12 | ... | ... | 23 | 279 |
| Baroda, | 31 | 23 | 1 | 44 | 405 | ... | ... | ... | 771 |
| Central India, | 1,588 | 33 | 6 | 195 | 1,882 | ... | 2 | 3,089 | 7,065 |
| Cochin, | 1,409 | ... | ... | ... | 120,972 | 1,033 | ... | ... | 136,301 |
| Haidarâbâd, | 4,979 | 450 | 1 | 184 | 6,446 | ... | ... | 1,133 | 13,614 |
| Mysore, | 5,586 | 242 | ... | 2,012 | 20,100 | ... | 7 | 892 | 29,249 |
| Rajputana, | 103 | 9 | ... | 11 | 21 | ... | ... | 1,144 | 1,294 |
| Travancore, | 57,313 | ... | ... | ... | 153,815 | 287,409 | ... | ... | 498,542 |
| Total in Native States, | 71,429 | 1,209 | 9 | 2,468 | 310,059 | 301,442 | 10 | 7,410 | 694,036 |
| Grand Total in British India and Native States, | 353,713 | 20,034 | 29,577 | 107,886 | 963,058 | 304,410 | 2,142 | 81,705 | 1,862,525 |
| Portuguese India, general return, practically all Catholics, French India, do. Grand Total for all India and Burma | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | 257,477 |
| | | | | | | | | | 33,226 |
| | | | | | | | | | 2,148,228 |

NOTE.—No details are available of the different sects of Christians in Portuguese and French India. But for all practical purposes the number of Roman Catholics may be taken as the total Christian population. Adding, therefore, to the above figures, 252,477 Catholics in Portuguese Settlements (1885), a grand total of 2,148,228 Christians is obtained for all India, British, Feudatory, and Foreign.

¹ Including the Madras Native States of Pudukotai, Ranganapalli, and Saurur.

² A considerable discrepancy occurs between the number of Roman Catholics in Travancore and Cochin States as returned by the Census of 1881, and that returned by the Roman Catholic authorities, as shown on a previous page. This difference, it has been explained, apparently arises from the fact that the Roman Catholics were under-estimated in the Census returns by the exclusion of about 100,000 Syrian Christians who acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Vicars-Apostolic of Verapoli and Quilon, and by their inclusion among the Jacobites, who are unconnected with the Roman Catholic Church.

Eccle-
siastical
estab-
lishment.

The Government of India maintains an ecclesiastical establishment for its European soldiers and officials. It devotes on an average £660,000 a year to their medical requirements, and £160,000 to their spiritual wants.¹ The two following tables show the ecclesiastical staff, and the number of soldiers and Government servants who attend their ministrations. In making up the second table, it has not been found practicable to bring the statistics of attendance beyond the date of the last Parliamentary return of 1880. During the year 1879, to which the attendance columns in the second table refer, a large European force was absent in the field, and the church attendance of European troops was decreased by about 13,000 officers and men.

INDIAN ECCLESIASTICAL STAFF, 1884.

| | BISHOPS. | | ARCH-DEACONS. | | CHAPLAINS. | | REGISTRARS. | |
|---------------------|----------|------|---------------|------|------------|-------------|-------------|----------|
| | No. | Pay. | No. | Pay. | No. | Pay (sen.). | Pay (jun.). | No. Pay. |
| | | £ | | £ | | £ | £ | £ |
| Church of England— | | | | | | | | |
| Calcutta, . . . | 1 | 4598 | 1 | 1280 | 92 | 960 | 600 | 17 480 |
| Lahore, . . . | 1 | 960 | 1 | 960 | | | | |
| Rangoon, . . . | 1 | 960 | 1 | 960 | | | | 1 60 |
| Madras, . . . | 1 | 2560 | 1 | 1280 | 39 | 960 | 600 | 1 256 |
| Bombay, . . . | 1 | 2560 | 1 | 1280 | 26 | 960 | 600 | 1 180 |
| Church of Scotland— | | | | | | | | |
| Bengal, . . . | ... | ... | 1b | 1351 | 4 | 960 | 600 | |
| Madras, . . . | ... | ... | 1h | 1140 | 3 | 960 | 600 | |
| Bombay, . . . | ... | ... | 1d | 1140 | 3 | 990 | 600 | |
| Roman Catholic | | | | | | | | |
| Priests— | | | | | | | | |
| Bengal, . . . | 2 | 6000 | ... | ... | 42 | 360d | 240 | |
| Madras, . . . | 1 | 6000 | ... | ... | 15 | 360d | 240 | |
| Bombay, . . . | 1 | 6000 | ... | ... | 18 | 360d | 240 | |
| Total, . . . | 9 | ... | 8 | ... | 242 | ... | ... | 4 ... |

a The registrar of the Calcutta Diocese is also registrar of the Lahore Diocese.

b These are the senior Presbyterian Chaplains in the three Presidencies.

c This is an allowance for furnishing ecclesiastical returns for transmission to England, paid to certain Roman Catholic Bishops in official communication with the British Government. The number of Catholic Bishops is sixteen for all India.

d There is also an intermediate class on £300 per annum. In addition to their rates of pay, Roman Catholic priests receive horse allowance at £36 per annum.

In the following table, it should be borne in mind that the salaries and number of chaplains refer to 1884, while the attendance is that of 1879, when a large force was in the field. The attendance in ordinary years is estimated

¹ The average cost of the ecclesiastical establishment during the ten years ending 1883 was £160,657.

at over 50,000. This would raise the total Church attendance of British troops and Government servants (exclusive of women and children) to about 55,000.

INDIAN ECCLESIASTICAL MINISTRATIONS.

| | Salaries and Allowances (1884). | N ^o of Bishops, Archdeacons, Chaplains or Ministers (1884) | Number of European Troops and Officers ordinarily at- tending Church (1879). | Number of other Government Servants (excluding Wives and Children) ordinarily at- tending Church (1879). | Total of Government Servants attending Church (1879). |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|---|--|---|--|
| Church of England, . . . | £124,175 | 167 | 23,842 | 3191 | 27,033 |
| Church of Scotland, . . . | 10,445 | 13 | 2,782 | 479 | 3,261 |
| Church of Rome, . . . | 31,251 | 79 | 10,586 | 621 | 11,207 |
| Total, | £165,871 | 259 | 37,210 | 4291 | 41,501 |

CHAPTER X.

EARLY MUHAMMADAN RULERS (711 TO 1526 A.D.).

WHILE Buddhism was giving place to Hinduism throughout India, and Christianity under Nestorian bishops was spreading along the coast of Malabar, a new faith had arisen in Arabia. Muhammad, born in 570 A.D., created a conquering religion, and died in 632. Within a hundred years after his death, his followers had invaded the countries of Asia as far as the Hindu Kush. Here their progress was stayed, and Islám had to consolidate itself, during three more centuries, before it grew strong enough to grasp the rich prize of India. But, almost from the first, the Arabs had fixed eager eyes upon that wealthy country. Fifteen years after the death of the prophet, Usmán sent a sea-expedition to Thána and Broach on the Bombay coast (647? A.D.). Other raids towards Sind took place in 662 and 664, with no results.

Early Arab
expedi-
tions to
Bombay
coast, 636-
711 A.D.

Muham-
madan
settlement
in Sind,
711-828?

In 711, however, the youthful Kásim advanced into Sind, to claim damages for an Arab ship which had been seized at an Indian port. After a brilliant campaign, he settled himself in the Indus valley; but the advance of the Musalmáns depended on the personal daring of their leader, and was arrested by his death in 714 A.D. The despairing valour of the Hindus struck the invaders with wonder. One Rájput garrison preferred extermination to submission. They raised a huge funeral pile, upon which the women and children first threw themselves. The men then bathed, took a solemn farewell of each other, and, throwing open the gates, rushed upon the besiegers and perished to a man. In 750, the Rájputs are said to have expelled the Muhammadan governor, but it was not till 828 A.D. that the Hindus regained Sind.

Their ex-
pulsion,
828 A.D.

India on
the eve
of the
Muham-
madan
conquest,
1000 A.D.

The armies of Islám had carried the crescent from the Hindu Kush westwards, through Asia, Africa, and Southern Europe, to distant Spain and Gaul, before they obtained a foothold in the Punjab. This long delay was due, not only to the daring of individual tribes, such as the Sind Rájputs just

mentioned, but to the military organization of the Hindu kingdoms. To the north of the Vindhya, three separate groups of princes governed the great river-valleys. The Rájputs ruled in the north-west, throughout the Indus plains, and along the upper waters of the Jumna. The ancient Middle Land of Sanskrit times (Madhya-desha) was divided among powerful kingdoms, with their suzerain at Kanauj. The lower Gangetic valley, from Behar downwards, was still in part governed by Pál or Buddhist dynasties, whose names are found from Benares to jungle-buried hamlets deep in the Bengal delta.¹ The Vindhya ranges stretched their wall of forest and mountain between the northern and southern halves of India. Their eastern and central regions were peopled by fierce hill tribes. At their western extremity, towards the Bombay coast, lay the Hindu kingdom of Málwá, with its brilliant literary traditions of Vikramáditya, and a vast feudal array of fighting men. India to the south of the Vindhya was occupied by a number of warlike princes, chiefly of non-Aryan descent, but loosely grouped under three great over-lords, represented by the Chera, Chola, and Pándya dynasties.²

Each of these groups of kingdoms, alike in the north and in the south, had a certain power of coherence to oppose to a foreign invader; while the large number of the groups and units rendered conquest a very tedious process. For even when the over-lord or central authority was vanquished, the separate groups and units had to be defeated in detail, and each State supplied a nucleus for subsequent revolt. We have seen how the brilliant attempt in 711, to found a lasting Muhammadan dynasty in Sind, failed. Three centuries later, the utmost efforts of two great Musalmán invaders from the north-west only succeeded in annexing a small portion of the frontier Punjab Province, between 977 and 1176 A.D. The Hindu power in Southern India was not completely broken till the battle of Tálikot in 1565; and within a hundred years, in 1650, the great Hindu revival had commenced which, under the form of the Maráthá confederacy, was destined to break up the Mughal

Hindu
kingdoms
—(1) of the
north;

(2) of the
south,

Hindu
power of
resistance.

Slow pro-
gress of
Muham-
madans in
India.

¹ For example, at Sábhar, on the northern bank of the Burigangá, once the capital of the Bhuiya or Buddhist Pál Rájá Harischandra. In 1839, the only trace that remained of his traditional residence was a brick mound, covered with jungle. See Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. v. pp. 72, 73, 118. In Lower Bengal, the Buddhist Páls had given place to the Bráhmanized Sens of Nadiyá before the Muhammadans reached that Province for the first time in 1199.

² See *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, articles CHERA, CHOLA, and PANDYA.

Their
success-
short-
lived.

Empire in India. That Empire, even in the north of India, had only been consolidated by Akbar's policy of incorporating Hindu chiefs and statesmen into his government (1556-1605). Up to Akbar's time, and even during the earlier years of his reign, a series of Rájput wars had challenged the Muhammadan supremacy. In less than two centuries after his death, the successor of Akbar was a puppet in the hands of the Hindu Maráthás at Delhi.

Muham-
madan
conquests
only par-
tial,

The popular notion that India fell an easy prey to the Musalmáns is opposed to the historical facts. Muhammadan rule in India consists of a series of invasions and partial conquests, during eleven centuries, from Usmán's raid, *circa* 647, to Ahmad Sháh's tempest of invasion in 1761 A.D. They represent in Indian history the overflow of the nomad tribes of Central Asia, towards the south-east; as the Huns, Túrks, and various Tartar tribes disclose in early European annals the westward movements from the same great breeding-ground of nations. At no time was Islám triumphant throughout the whole of India. Hindu dynasties always ruled over large areas. At the height of the Muhammadan power, the Hindu princes paid tribute, and sent agents to the Imperial Court. But even this modified supremacy of Delhi lasted for little over a century (1578-1707). Before the end of that brief period, the Hindus had begun the work of reconquest. The native chivalry of Rájputána was closing in upon Delhi from the south; the religious confederation of the Sikhs was growing into a military power on the north-west. The Maráthás had combined the fighting powers of the low-castes with the statesmanship of the Bráhmans, and were subjecting the Muhammadan kingdoms throughout all India to tribute. So far as can now be estimated, the advance of the English power at the beginning of the present century alone saved the Mughal Empire from passing to the Hindus.

and tem-
porary.

Hindus
reconquer
India from
the Musal-
máns,
1707-61.

This chapter will necessarily confine its survey to the essential stages in the spread of the Musalmán conquest, and will pass lightly over the intermediate princes or minor dynasties who flit across the scene.¹ The annexed summary presents a view of the whole:—

¹ The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone's *History of India* is still the standard popular work on the Muhammadan period. Professor Cowell's edition (Murray, 1866) incorporated some of the new materials accumulated since Mr. Elphinstone wrote. But much of the original work is a reproduction of *Firishita*, and requires to be re-written from Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians* and the results of the Archæological and

SUMMARY OF MUHAMMADAN CONQUERORS AND DYNASTIES
OF INDIA (1001-1857).

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| <p>I. HOUSE OF GHAZNI (Túrkí). 1001-1186. Mahmúd of Ghazní to Sultán Khusrú. Pp. 272-75.</p> <p>II. HOUSE OF GHOR (Afghán?). 1186-1206. Muhammad Ghorí (Shahab-ud-dín). Pp. 275-78.</p> <p>III. SLAVE KINGS (chiefly Túrkí). 1206-1290 Kutab-ud-dín to Balban and Kaikubád. Pp. 278-80.</p> <p>IV. HOUSE OF KHILJÍ (Túrkí?). 1290-1320. Jalál-ud-dín to Násir-ud-dín Khusrú. Pp. 280-83.</p> <p>V. HOUSE OF TUGHLAK (Punjab Túrks), 1320-1414. Pp. 283-86. 1320. Ghiyás-ud-dín Tughlak. P. 283. 1324. Muhammad Tughlak. Pp. 283-85. 1351. Firuz Tughlak. P. 285. 1414. End of the dynasty. P. 286. [Irruption of the Mughals under Timúr (Tamerlane) in 1398-99, leaving behind him a fifteen years' anarchy under the last of the line of Tughlak, until the accession of the Sayyids in 1414. P. 285.]</p> <p>VI. THE SAYYIDS. 1414-1450. Curtailed power of Delhi. P. 286 <i>passim</i>.</p> <p>VII. THE LODIS (Afgháns). 1450-1526. Feeble reigns; independent States. P. 286.</p> <p>VIII. HOUSE OF TIMUR (Mughal), 1526-1857. 1526-1530. Bábar. P. 290. 1530-1556. Humáyún. Pp. 290-91.</p> | <p>[Sher Sháh, the Afghán governor of Bengal, drives Humáyún out of India in 1540, and his Afghán dynasty rules till 1555. P. 291.]</p> <p>1556-1605. Akbar the Great. Pp. 291-300. 1605-1627. Jahángír. Pp. 300-302. 1628-1658. Sháh Jahán, deposed. Pp. 302-305. 1658-1707. Aurangzeb or Alamgír I. Pp. 306-312. 1707-1712. Bahádúr Sháh, or Sháh Alam I. P. 312. 1712. Jahandar Sháh. P. 312. 1713-1718. Farrukhsiyar. P. 312. 1719-1748. Muhammad Sháh (after two boy Emperors). Pp. 312-313. [Irruption of Nádír Sháh the Persian, 1738-1739. Pp. 313-15.]</p> <p>1748-1754. Death of Muhammad Sháh; and accession of Ahmad Sháh, deposed 1754. P. 313. 1754-1759. Alamgír II. P. 313. [Six invasions of India by Ahmad Sháh Duráni, the Afghán, 1748-1761. Pp. 313-15.]</p> <p>1759-1806. Sháh Alam II., titular Emperor. P. 313. 1806-1834. Akbar II., titular Emperor. P. 313. 1834-1857. Muhammad Bahádúr Sháh, titular Emperor; the seventeenth and last Mughal Emperor; died a State prisoner at Rangoon in 1862. P. 313.</p> |
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Statistical Surveys. The present chapter has chiefly used, besides Elphinstone, the following works for the Muhammadan period:—(1) Sir Henry Elliot's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, i.e. the Arab and Persian travellers and writers, edited by Professor Dowson, 8 vols. 1867-77 (Trübner); (2) Mr. Edward Thomas' *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Delhi*, especially for reigns from 1193 to 1554, for which period he gives the initial dates of the Hijra years (Trübner, 1871); (3) Mr. Edward Thomas' *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, with his manuscript marginal notes; (4) Lieut.-Colonel Brigg's Translation of Muhammad Kásim Firishtá's *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan*

First
Türkī
invasions.

Subukti-
gīn, 977
A.D.

Mahmūd
of Ghaznī,
1001-1030.

His seven-
teen inva-
sions,
1001-1026

The first collision between Hinduism and Islām on the Punjab frontier was the act of the Hindus. In 977, Jaipāl, the Hindu chief of Lahore, annoyed by Afghān raids, led his troops up the passes against the Muhammadan kingdom of Ghaznī, in Afghānistān. Subuktigīn, the Ghaznvide prince, after severe fighting, took advantage of a hurricane to cut off the Hindu retreat through the pass. He allowed them, however, to return to India on the surrender of fifty elephants, and the promise of one million *dirhams* (about £25,000).¹ Tradition relates how Jaipāl, having regained his capital, was counselled by the Brāhman, standing at his right hand, not to disgrace himself by paying ransom to a barbarian; while his nobles and warrior chiefs, standing at his left, implored him to keep faith. In the end, Subuktigīn swept down the passes to enforce his ransom, defeated Jaipāl, and left an Afghān officer with 10,000 horse to garrison Peshāwar. Subuktigīn was soon afterwards called away to fight in Central Asia, and his Indian raid left behind it only this outpost.² But henceforth, the Afghāns held both ends of the passes.

In 997, Subuktigīn died, and was succeeded by his son, Mahmūd of Ghaznī, aged sixteen. This valiant monarch reigned for thirty-three years,³ and extended the limits of his father's little Afghān kingdom from Persia on the west, to deep into the Punjab on the east. Having spent four years in consolidating his power to the west of the Khaibar Pass, he led forth in 1001 A.D. the first of his seventeen⁴ invasions of India.

Power in India; (5) Reports of the Archæological Survey of Western India, and materials supplied by the Statistical Survey of the various Provinces of India; (6) Professor Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari* (Calcutta, 1873), together with Gladwin's older translation (2 vols. 1800). When the dates or figures in this chapter differ from Elphinstone's, they are derived from the original Persian authorities, as adopted by Sir Henry Elliot and Mr. Thomas.

¹ The *Tārīkh Yamīnī*, written *circa* 1020, by Al 'Utbi, a secretary of Sultān Mahmūd, is the contemporary authority for this invasion. It is translated in Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. ii. pp. 18-24. The materials for the invasions of Subuktigīn are *Firishta*, i. pp. 11-25 (ed. 1829); and Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. ii. iii. iv. and vi.

² His chronicler, Al 'Utbi, never once mentions Delhi or Lahore.

³ The *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri* (Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. ii. p. 270) speaks of the '36th year of his reign.' But the dates 997 to 1030 seem authoritative. The original materials for the invasions of Mahmūd are *Firishta*, i. pp. 37-82; and Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. i. ii. iii. and iv.

⁴ This number, and subsequent details, are taken from the authorities translated in Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. ii. iii. iv.; and critically examined in the Appendix to his second volume, pp. 434-478 (1869).

Of these, thirteen were directed to the subjugation of the Punjab; one was an unsuccessful incursion into Kashmir; the remaining three were short but furious raids against more distant cities—Kanauj, Gwalior, and Somnâth.

Jaipâl, the Hindu frontier chief of Lahore, was again defeated. According to Hindu custom, a twice-conquered prince was deemed unworthy to reign; and Jaipâl, mounting a funeral pile, solemnly made over his kingdom to his son, and burned himself in his regal robes. Another local chief, rather than yield himself to the victor, fell upon his own sword. In the sixth expedition (1008 A.D.), the Hindu ladies melted their ornaments, while the poorer women spun cotton, to support their husbands in the war. In one great battle, the fate of the invaders hung in the balance. Mahmûd, alarmed by a coalition of the Indian kings as far as Oudh and Mâlwa, entrenched himself near Peshâwar. A sortie which he made was driven back, and the wild Ghakkar tribe¹ burst into the camp and slaughtered nearly 4000 Musalmâns.

But each expedition ended by further strengthening the Muhammadan foothold in India. Mahmûd carried away enormous booty from the Hindu temples, such as Thanesar and Nagarkot, and his sixteenth and most famous expedition was directed against the temple of Somnâth in Gujarât (1024 A.D.). After bloody repulses, he stormed the town; and the Hindu garrison, leaving 5000 dead, put out in boats to sea. The famous idol of Somnâth was merely one of the twelve *lingas* or phallic emblems erected in various parts of India. But Mahmûd having taken the name of the 'Idol-Smasher,' the modern Persian historians gradually converted the plunder of Somnâth into a legend of his pious zeal. Forgetting the contemporary accounts of the idol as a rude stump of stone, Firishta tells how Mahmûd, on entering the temple, was offered

Patriotic
devotion
of the
Hindus,
1008 A.D.

Mahmûd's
progress in
India,
1001-1024.

Expedition
to Som-
nâth, 1024.

¹ Firishta says, '30,000 Ghakkars with their heads and feet bare.' Colonel Brigg's *Firishta*, vol. i. p. 47 (ed. 1829). Elphinstone gives the number of Mahmûd's expeditions somewhat differently from the number and order adopted in the above text from the Persian authorities, translated by Sir Henry Elliot. Thus Elphinstone gives the expedition of 1008 A.D. as the fourth (p. 328), while Sir Henry Elliot gives it as the sixth (*Persian Historians*, vol. i. p. 444). In the same way, Elphinstone gives the Somnâth expedition as the twelfth (p. 334, ed. 1866), while Sir Henry Elliot gives it as the sixteenth (vol. ii. p. 468). These instances must suffice to indicate the differences between Elphinstone and the later materials derived from Sir Henry Elliot and Mr. Edward Thomas. In subsequent pages, the more accurate materials will be used without pausing to point out such differences.

Fiction of
the jewel-
bellied
god.

an enormous ransom by the priests if he would spare the image.¹ But Mahmúd cried out that he would rather be remembered as the breaker than the seller of idols, and clove the god open with his mace. Forthwith a vast treasure of jewels poured forth from its vitals, which explained the liberal offers of the priests, and rewarded the disinterested piety of the monarch. The growth of this myth can be clearly traced,² but it is still repeated by uncritical historians. The *linga* or solid stone fetish of Somnáth, had no stomach, and could contain no jewels.

The
sandal-
wood
gates.

Mahmúd carried off the temple gates, with fragments of the phallic emblem, to Ghazní,³ and on the way nearly perished with his army in the Indus desert. But the famous 'Sandal-wood gates of Somnáth,' brought back as a trophy from Ghazní by our troops in 1842, and paraded through Northern India, were as clumsy a forgery as the story of the jewel-bellied idol itself. Mahmúd died at Ghazní in 1030 A.D.

Results of
Mahmúd's
invasions,
1030 A.D.

As the result of seventeen invasions of India, and twenty-five years' fighting, Mahmúd had reduced the western districts of the Punjab to the control of Ghazní, and left the remembrance of his raids as far as Kanauj on the east, and Gujarát in the south. He never set up as a resident sovereign in India. His expeditions beyond the Punjab were the adventures of a religious knight-errant, with the plunder of a temple-city, or the demolition of an idol, as their object, rather than serious efforts at conquest. But as his father had left Pesháwar as an outpost garrison, so Mahmúd left the Punjab as an outlying Province of Ghazní.

The
Punjab
conquered.
Mahmúd's
justice and
thrift.

The Muhammadan chroniclers tell many stories, not only of Mahmúd's valour and piety, but also of his thrift. One day a poor woman complained that her son had been killed by robbers in a distant desert of Irak. Mahmúd said he was very sorry, but that it was difficult to prevent such accidents so far from the capital. The old woman rebuked him with these words,

¹ Colonel Brigg's *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 72, 73 (ed. 1829).

² Sir H. Elliot's *History of India from the Persian Historians*, vol. ii. p. 270, from the *Tabakát-i-Násiri*; also Appendix, vol. ii. p. 476; vol. iv. pp. 182, 183, from the *Habibu-s-Siyar* of Khondamir. But see, even in 1832, H. H. Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. pp. 194 *et seq.* A foundation for Firishta's invention is, however, to be found in the contemporary account of Al Biruni (970-1029 A.D.), who says that the top of the *linga* was garnished with gems of gold.

³ Of the four fragments, he deposited one in the Jamá Masjid at Ghazní, another at the entrance of his palace, and the third he sent to Mecca, and the fourth to Medina. *Tabakát-i-Násiri*.

'Keep therefore no more territory than you can rightly govern.' The Sultán forthwith rewarded her, and sent troops to guard all caravans passing that way. Mahmúd was an enlightened patron of poets, and his liberality drew the great Ferdousi to his court. The Sultán listened with delight to his *Sháh-námah*, or Book of Kings, and promised him a *dirham*, meaning a golden one, for each verse on its completion. After thirty years of labour, the poet claimed his reward. But the Sultán finding that the poem had run to 60,000 verses, offered him 60,000 silver *dirhams*, instead of *dirhams* of gold. Ferdousi retired in disgust from the court, and wrote a bitter satire which records to this day the base birth of the monarch. Mahmúd forgave the satire, but remembered the great epic, and, repenting of his meanness, sent 100,000 golden *dirhams* to the poet. The bounty came too late. For as the royal messengers bearing the bags of gold entered one gate of Ferdousi's city, the poet's corpse was being borne out by another.

During a century and a half, the Punjab remained under Mahmúd's successors, as a Province of Gházní. But in 1152, the Afgháns of Ghor¹ overthrew the Ghaznívide dynasty; and Khusrú, the last of Mahmúd's line, fled to Lahore, the capital of his outlying Indian territory. In 1186, this also was wrested from him;² and the Ghorian prince Shaháb-ud-dín, better known as Muhammad of Ghor, began the conquest of India on his own account. But each of the Hindu principalities fought hard, and some of them still survive seven centuries after the torrent of Afghán invasion swept over their heads.

On his first expedition towards Delhi, in 1191, Muhammad of Ghor was utterly defeated by the Hindus at Thaneswar, badly wounded, and barely escaped with his life. His scattered hosts were chased for 40 miles. But he gathered together the wreck at Lahore, and, aided by new hordes from Central Asia, again marched into Hindustán in 1193. Family quarrels among the Rájputs prevented a united effort against him.

¹ Ghor, one of the oldest seats of the Afghán race, is now a ruined town of Western Afghánistán, 120 miles south-east of Herát. The feud between Ghor and Ghazní was of long standing and great bitterness. Mahmúd of Ghazní had subdued Ghor in 1010 A.D.; but about 1051 the Ghorian chief captured Ghazní, and dragged its chief inhabitants to Ghor, where he cut their throats, and used their blood for making mortar for the fortifications. After various reprisals, Ghor finally triumphed over Ghazní in 1152.

² *Tabakát-i-A'ísirí*. Sir H. Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. ii. p. 281.

Dis-sen-
sions
among the
Hindu
princes.

The cities of Delhi and Kanauj stand forth as the centres of rival Hindu monarchies, each of which claimed the first place in Northern India. A Chauhán prince, ruling over Delhi and Ajmere, bore the proud name of Prithwí Rájá or Suzerain. The Ráhtor king of Kanauj, whose capital can still be traced across eight square miles of broken bricks and rubbish,¹ celebrated a feast, in the spirit of the ancient Horse-sacrifice,² to proclaim himself the Over-lord.

Court
pageant at
Kanauj,
12th cen-
tury A.D.

At such a feast, all menial offices had to be filled by royal vassals; and the Delhi monarch was summoned as a gate-keeper, along with the other princes of Hindustán. During the ceremony, the daughter of the King of Kanauj was nominally to make her *swayamvara*, or 'own choice' of a husband, a pageant survival of the reality in the Sanskrit epics. The Delhi Rájá loved the maiden, but he could not brook to stand at another man's gate. As he did not arrive, the Kanauj king set up a mocking image of him at the door. When the princess entered the hall to make her choice, she looked calmly round the circle of kings, then stepping proudly past them to the door, threw her bridal garland over the neck of the ill-shapen image. Forthwith, says the story, the Delhi monarch rushed in, sprang with the princess on his horse, and galloped off towards his northern capital. The outraged father led out his army against the runaways, and, having called in the Afgháns to attack Delhi on the other side, brought about the ruin of both the Hindu kingdoms.

A *sway-
amvara*, or
maiden's
choice.

Distribu-
tion of
Rájputs,
circa 1184.

The tale serves to record the dissensions among the Rájput princes, which prevented a united resistance to Muhammad of Ghor. He found Delhi occupied by the Tomára clan, Ajmere by the Chauháns, and Kanauj by the Ráhtors. These Rájput States formed the natural breakwaters against invaders from the north-west. But their feuds are said to have left the King of Delhi and Ajmere, then united under one Chauhán Over-lord, only 64 out of his 108 warrior chiefs. In 1193, the Afgháns again swept down on the Punjab. Prithwí Rájá of Delhi and Ajmere³ was defeated and slain. His heroic princess burned herself on his funeral pile. Muhammad of Ghor, having occupied Delhi, pressed on to Ajmere; and in

¹ See article KANAUJ, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² *Aswa-medha*, described in a previous chapter.

³ Descended from the eponymous Rájá Aja of Ajmere, *circa* 145 A.D.; and on the mother's side, from Anang Pál Tuar, Rájá of Delhi, who adopted him; thus uniting Delhi to Ajmere. See article AJMERE-MERWARA, in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

1194, overthrew the rival Hindu monarch of Kanauj, whose body was identified on the field of battle by his false teeth. The brave Ráhtor Rájputs of Kanauj, with other of the Rájput clans in Northern India, quitted their homes in large bodies rather than submit to the stranger. They migrated to the regions bordering on the eastern desert of the Indus, and there founded the military kingdoms which bear their race-name, Rájputána, to this day. Rájput migrations into Rájputána.

History takes her narrative of these events from the matter-of-fact statements of the Persian annalists.¹ But the Hindu court-bard of Prithwí Rájá left behind a patriotic version of the fall of his race. His ballad-chronicle, known as the *Prithwíráj Rásau* of Chánd, is one of the earliest poems in Hindí. It depicts the Musalmán invaders as beaten in all the battles except the last fatal one. Their leader is taken prisoner by the Hindus, and released for a heavy ransom. But the quarrels of the chiefs ruined the Hindu cause.

Setting aside these patriotic songs, Benares and Gwalior mark the south-western limits of Muhammad of Ghor's own advance. But his general, Bakhtiyár Khiljí, conquered Behar in 1199,² and Lower Bengal down to the delta in 1203. On the approach of the Musalmáns, the Bráhmans advised Lakshman Sen, the King of Bengal, to remove his residence from Nadiyá to some more distant city. But the prince, an old man of eighty, could not make up his mind until the Afghán general had seized his capital, and burst into the palace one day while his majesty was at dinner. The monarch slipped out by a back door without having time to put on his shoes, and fled to Purí in Orissa, where he spent his remaining days in the service of Jagannáth.³ Muhammadan conquest of Bengal, 1203.

Meanwhile the Sultán, Muhammad Ghorí, divided his time between campaigns in Afghánistán and Indian invasions; and he had little time to consolidate his Indian conquests. Even in the Punjab, the tribes were defeated rather than subdued. In 1203, the Ghakkars issued from their mountains,

¹ *Firishta* (i. 161-187), the *Tabakát-i-Násiri* of Minháj-u-s-Siráj, and others; translated in Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. ii. v. and vi.

² *History of Bengal from the first Muhammadan Invasion to 1757*, by Major Charles Stewart, p. 25 (Calcutta, 1847). The nearly contemporary authority is the *Tabakát-i-Násiri* (1227-41); Sir H. Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. ii. pp. 307-309.

³ Stewart, p. 27. The *Tabakát-i-Násiri* merely says 'he went towards Sanknát' (*sic*) (Jagannáth?); Sir H. Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. ii. p. 309.

took Lahore,¹ and devastated the whole Province.² In 1206, a party of the same clan swam the Indus, on the bank of which the Afghán camp was pitched, and stabbed the Sultán to death while asleep in his tent.³

Muham-
mad of
Ghor's
work in
India,
1191-1206.

Muhammad of Ghor was no religious knight-errant like Mahmúd of Ghazní, but a practical conqueror. The objects of his distant expeditions were not temples, but Provinces. Subuktigín had left Pesháwar as an outpost of Ghazní (977 A.D.); and Mahmúd had reduced the western Punjab to an outlying Province of the same kingdom (1030 A.D.). That was the net result of the Túrki invasions of India. But Muhammad of Ghor left the whole north of India, from the delta of the Indus to the delta of the Ganges, under Muhammadan generals, who on his death set up for themselves.

Northern
India sub-
dued.

Kutab-ud-
dín,
1206-10;

first
'Slave
King.'

His Indian Viceroy, Kutab-ud-dín, proclaimed himself sovereign of India at Delhi, and founded a line which lasted from 1206 to 1290. Kutab claimed the control over all the Muhammadan leaders and soldiers of fortune in India from Sind to Lower Bengal. His name is preserved at his capital by the Kutab Mosque, with its graceful colonnade of richly-sculptured Hindu pillars, and by the Kutab *Minár*,⁴ which raises its tapering shaft, encrusted with chapters from the Kurán, high above the ruins of old Delhi. Kutab-ud-dín had started life as a Túrki slave, and several of his successors rose by valour or intrigue from the same low condition to the throne. His dynasty is accordingly known as that of the Slave Kings. Under them India became for the first time the seat of resident Muhammadan sovereigns. Kutab-ud-dín died in 1210.⁵

The Slave
Dynasty,
1206-90.

The Slave Dynasty found itself face to face with the three perils which have beset the Muhammadan rule in India from the outset, and beneath which that rule eventually succumbed. First, rebellions by its own servants, Musalmán generals, or viceroys of Provinces; second, revolts of the Hindus;

¹ *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 182-184.

² As far south as the country near Múltán, *Tájul-Ma-ásir*; Sir H. Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. ii. pp. 233-235; *Tárikh-i-Alfi*, v. 163. The Muhammadan historians naturally minimize this episode.

³ Sir H. Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. ii. pp. 235, 297, 393. Brigg's *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 185, 186.

⁴ *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, article DELHI CITY.

⁵ The original materials for Kutab-ud-dín Aibak's reign are to be found in *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 189-202 (ed. 1829); and the *Persian Historians*, translated by Sir Henry Elliot, vols. ii. iii. iv. and v.

third, fresh invasions, chiefly by Mughals, from Central Asia.

Altamsh, the third and greatest Sultán of the Slave line (1211-36 A.D.), had to reduce the Muhammadan Governors of Lower Bengal and Sind, both of whom had set up as independent rulers; and he narrowly escaped destruction by a Mughal invasion. The Mughals under Changíz Khán swept through the Indian passes in pursuit of an Afghán prince; but their progress was stayed by the Indus, and Delhi remained untouched. Before the death of Altamsh (1236 A.D.), the Hindus had ceased for a time to struggle openly; and the Muhammadan Viceroy of Delhi ruled all India on the north of the Vindhya range, including the Punjab, the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Behar, Lower Bengal, Ajmere, Gwalior, Málwá, and Sind. The Khálif of Baghdád acknowledged India as a separate Muhammadan kingdom during the reign of Altamsh, and struck coins in recognition of the new Empire of Delhi (1229 A.D.).¹ Altamsh died in 1236.

His daughter Raziya was the only lady who ever occupied the Muhammadan throne of Delhi (1236-39 A.D.). Learned in the Kurán, industrious in public business, firm and energetic in every crisis, she bears in history the masculine name of the *Sultán* Raziya. But the favour which she showed to the master of the horse, an Abyssinian slave, offended her Afghán generals; and after a troubled reign of three and a half years, she was deposed and put to death.²

Mughal irruptions and Hindu revolts soon began to undermine the Slave dynasty. The Mughals are said to have burst through Tibet into North-Eastern Bengal in 1245;³ and during the next forty-four years, repeatedly swept down the Afghán passes into the Punjab (1244-88). The wild Indian tribes, such as the Ghakkars⁴ and the hillmen of Mewát, ravaged the Muhammadan lowlands almost up to the capital.

¹ *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Delhi*, by Edward Thomas, p. 46 (Milne, 1871). Original materials for Shams-ud-dín Altamsh: *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 205-212 (1829); Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. ii. iii. iv.

² Thomas' *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, pp. 104-108; *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 217-222; Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. ii. and iii.

³ This invasion of Bengal is discredited by the latest and most critical historian, Mr. Edward Thomas, in his *Pathán Kings of Delhi*, p. 121, note (ed. 1871). On the other side, see *Firishta*, vol. i. p. 231, but cf. Col. Briggs's footnote; and the *Tabakát-i-Násiri* in Sir H. Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. ii. pp. 264, 344; 'In March 1245, the infidels of Changíz Khán came to the gates of Lakhnauti' (Gaur).

⁴ For an account of the Ghakkars, *vide ante*, p. 186, chap. vii

Rájput
revolts.

Rájput revolts foreshadowed that inextinguishable vitality of the Hindu military races, which was to harass, from first to last, the Mughal Empire, and to outlive it. Under the Slave kings, even the north of India was only half subdued to the Muhammadan sway. The Hindus rose again and again in Málwá, Rájputána, Bundelkhand, along the Ganges, and in the Jumna valley, marching to the river bank opposite Delhi itself.¹

Balban,
1265-87.

The last monarch but one of the Slave line, Balban (1265-87 A.D.), had not only to fight the Mughals, the wild non-Aryan tribes, and the Rájput clans; he was also compelled to massacre his own viceroys. Having in his youth entered into a compact for mutual support and advancement with forty of his Túrki fellow-slaves in the palace, he had, when he came to the throne, to break the powerful confederacy thus formed. Some of his provincial governors he publicly scourged; others were beaten to death in his presence; and a general, who failed to reduce the rebel Muhammadan Viceroy of Bengal, was hanged. Balban himself moved down to the delta, and crushed the Bengal revolt with a merciless skill. His severity against Hindu rebels knew no bounds. He nearly exterminated the Jadún Rájputs of Mewát, to the south of Delhi, putting 100,000 persons to the sword. He then cut down the forests which formed their retreats, and opened up the country to tillage. The miseries caused by the Mughal hordes in Central Asia, drove a crowd of princes and poets to seek shelter at the Indian court. Balban boasted that no fewer than fifteen once independent sovereigns had fed on his bounty, and he called the streets of Delhi by the names of their late kingdoms, such as Bághdad, Kharizm, and Ghor. He died in 1287 A.D.² His successor was poisoned, and the Slave dynasty ended in 1290.³

His
cruelties
to the
Hindus.

His fifteen
royal pen-
sioners.

House of
Khiljí,
1290-1320.

In that year Jalál-ud-dín, a ruler of Khiljí, succeeded to the Delhi throne, and founded a line which lasted for thirty years (1290-1320 A.D.). The Khiljí dynasty extended the Muhammadan power into Southern India. Alá-ud-dín, the nephew and successor of the founder, when Governor of Karra,⁴ near Allahábád, pierced through the Vindhya ranges

¹ Thomas' *Pathán Kings*, 131.

² Materials for the reign of Balban (Ghiyás-ud-dín Balban): Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. iii. pp. 38, 97, 546, 593 (1871); *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 247-272 (1829).

³ Mr. E. Thomas' *Pathán Kings*, pp. 138-142.

⁴ Forty miles north-west of Allahábád, once the capital of an important fief, now a ruined town. See *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, article KARRA.

with his cavalry, and plundered the Buddhist temple city of Bhilsa, 300 miles off. After trying his powers against the rebellious Hindu princes of Bundelkhand and Málwá, he conceived the idea of a grand raid into the Deccan. With a band of 8000 horse, he rode into the heart of Southern India. On the way he gave himself out as flying from his uncle's court, to seek service with the Hindu King of Rájamahendri. The generous Rájput princes abstained from attacking a refugee in his flight, and Alá-ud-dín surprised the great city of Deogiri, the modern Daulatábád, at that time the capital of the Hindu kingdom of Maháráshtra. Having suddenly galloped into its streets, he announced himself as only the advance guard of the whole imperial army, levied an immense booty, and carried it back 700 miles to the seat of his Governorship on the banks of the Ganges. He then lured the Sultán Jalál-ud-dín, his uncle, to Karra, in order to divide the spoil; and murdered the old man in the act of clasping his hand (1295 A.D.).¹

Alá-ud-dín scattered his spoils in gifts or charity, and proclaimed himself Sultán (1295-1315 A.D.).² The twenty years of his reign founded the Muhammadan sway in Southern India. He reconquered Gujarát from the Hindus in 1297; captured Rintimbur,³ after a difficult siege, from the Jaipur Rájputs in 1300; took the fort of Chittor, and partially subjected the Sesodia Rájputs (1303); and having thus reduced the Hindus on the north of the Vindhya, prepared for the conquest of the Deccan. But before starting on this great expedition, he had to meet five Mughal inroads from the north. In 1295 he defeated a Mughal invasion under the walls of his capital, Delhi; in 1304-5 he encountered four others, sending all prisoners to Delhi, where the chiefs were trampled by elephants, and the common soldiery slaughtered in cold blood. He crushed with equal severity several rebellions which took place among his own family during the same period; first putting out the eyes of his insurgent nephews, and then beheading them (1299-1300).

Having thus arranged his affairs in Northern India, he undertook the conquest of the South. In 1303 he had sent his eunuch slave, Malik Káfur, with an army through Bengal, to attack Warangal, the capital of the Hindu kingdom of Teling-

Alá-ud-dín's Southern raids, 1294.

Reign of Alá-ud-dín, 1295-1315. Alá-ud-dín's reconquest of N. India, 1295-1303.

His conquest of Southern India, 1303-15.

¹ Thomas' *Pathán Kings*, p. 144.

² Materials for the reign of Alá-ud-dín Khilji: Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. iii. (1871); *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 321-382 (1829).

³ See article RINTIMBUR, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

ána. In 1306, Káfur marched victoriously through Málwá and Khándesh into the Maráthá country, where he captured Deogiri, and persuaded the Hindu king Rám Deo to return with him to do homage at Delhi. While the Sultán Alá-ud-dín was conquering the Rájputs in Márwár, his slave general, Káfur, made expeditions through the Karnátic and Mahá-ráshtra, as far south as Adam's Bridge, at the extremity of India, where he built a mosque.

His general, Malik Káfur.

Extent of the Muhammadan power in India, 1306.

Muhammadan population in India, 1286-1311.

Mughal mercenaries, 1286-1311.

Hindu revolts.

The unlimited supply of soldiers which Alá-ud-dín could thus draw upon from the Túrki, Afghán, and Mughal races in Northern India and the countries beyond, enabled him to send armies farther south than any of his predecessors. But in his later years, the Hindus revolted in Gujarát; the Rájputs reconquered Chittor; and many of the Muhammadan garrisons were driven out of the Deccan. On the capture of Chittor in 1303, the garrison had preferred death to submission. The peasantry still chant an early Hindí ballad, telling how the queen and thirteen thousand women threw themselves on a funeral pile, while the men rushed upon the swords of the besiegers. A remnant cut their way to the Aravalli Hills; and the Rájput independence, although in abeyance during Alá-ud-dín's reign, was never crushed. Having imprisoned his sons, and given himself up to paroxysms of rage and intemperance, Alá-ud-dín died in 1315, helped to the grave, it is said, by poison given by his favourite general, Káfur.

A renegade Hindu Emperor, 1316-20;

During the four remaining years of the house of Khiljî, the actual power passed to Khusrú Khán, a low-caste renegade

Hindu, who imitated the military successes and vices of his patron, Malik Káfur, and then personally superintended his murder.¹ Khusrú now became all in all to the debauched Emperor Mubárik; slew him, and seized the throne. While outwardly professing Islám, Khusrú desecrated the Kurán by using it as a seat, and degraded the pulpits of the mosques into pedestals for Hindu idols. In 1320 he was slain, and the Khiljí dynasty disappeared.²

The leader of the rebellion was Ghiyás-ud-dín Tughlak, who had started life as a Túrki slave, and risen to the frontier Governorship of the Punjab. He founded the Tughlak dynasty, which lingered on for ninety-four years (1320-1414), although submerged for a time by the invasion of Timúr (Tamerlane) in 1398. Ghiyás-ud-dín Tughlak (1320-24 A.D.) removed the capital from Delhi to a spot about four miles farther east, and called it Tughlakábád.

His son and successor, Muhammad Tughlak (1324-51), was an accomplished scholar, a skilful captain, and a severely abstinent man.³ But his ferocity of temper, perhaps inherited from the tribes of the steppes, rendered him merciless as a judge and careless of human suffering. The least opposition drove him into outbursts of insane fury. He wasted the treasures accumulated by Alá-ud-dín in buying off the Mughal hordes, who again and again swept down on the Punjab. On the other hand, in fits of ambition, he raised an army for the invasion of Persia, and sent out an expedition of 100,000 men against China. The first force broke up for want of pay, and plundered his own dominions; the second perished almost to a man in the Himálayan passes. He planned great conquests into Southern India, and dragged the whole inhabitants of Delhi, 800 miles off, to Deogiri, to which he gave the name of Daulatábád. Twice he allowed the miserable suppliants to return to Delhi; twice he compelled them on pain of death to quit it. One of these forced migrations took place amid the horrors of a famine; the citizens perished by thousands, and in the end the king had to give up the attempt. Having drained his treasury, he issued a forced currency of copper coins, by which he tried to make the king's brass equal to other men's

House of
Tughlak,
1320-1414.

Muham-
mad
Tughlak,
1324-51.

Muham-
mad
Tughlak's
mad ex-
peditions,
1324-51.

His
cruelties.

His forced
currency.

¹ Thomas' *Pathán Kings*, pp. 178, 179.

² *Idem*, pp. 184, 185.

³ Materials for his reign: Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. i. iii. v. vi. vii.; *Firishá*, vol. i. pp. 408-443 (ed. 1829); Elphinstone's narrative of this reign is an admirable specimen of his spirited style of work, pp. 403-410 (ed. 1866).

silver.¹ During the same century, the Mughal conqueror of China, Kublai Khán, had expanded the use of paper notes, early devised by the Chinese; and Kai Khátú had introduced a bad imitation of it into Persia. Tughlak's forced currency quickly brought its own ruin. Foreign merchants refused the worthless brass tokens, trade came to a stand, and the king had to take payment of his taxes in his own depreciated coinage.

Revolt of
the Pro-
vinces,
1338-51

Meanwhile the Provinces began to throw off the Delhi yoke. Muhammad Tughlak had succeeded in 1324 to the greatest Empire which had, up to that time, acknowledged a Muhammadan Sultán in India. But his bigoted zeal for Islám forbade him to trust either Hindu princes or Hindu officers; and he thus found himself compelled to fill every high post with foreign Muhammadan adventurers, who had no interest in the stability of his rule. The annals of the period present a long series of outbreaks, one part of the Empire renouncing its allegiance as soon as another had been brought back to subjection. His own nephew rebelled in Málwá, and being caught, was flayed alive (1338). The Punjab governor revolted (1339), was crushed, and put to death. The Musalmán Vice-roys of Lower Bengal and of the Coromandel coast set up for themselves (about 1340), and could not be subdued. The Hindu kingdoms of Karnáta and Telingána recovered their independence (1344), and expelled the Musalmán garrisons. The Muhammadan governors in the Deccan also revolted, while the troops in Gujarát rose in mutiny. Muhammad Tughlak rushed with an army to the south to take vengeance on the traitors, but hardly had he put down their rising than he was called away by insurrections in Gujarát, Málwá, and Sind. He died in 1351, while chasing rebels in the lower valley of the Indus.

He flays
his
nephew.

His reign
one long
revolt.

Muham-
mad
Tughlak's
revenue
exactions,
1325-51.

His 'man-
hunt.'

Muhammad Tughlak was the first Musalmán ruler of India who can be said to have had a revenue system. He increased the land-tax between the Ganges and the Jumna; in some Districts ten-fold, in others twenty-fold. The husbandmen fled before his tax-gatherers, leaving their villages to lapse into jungle, and formed themselves into robber clans. He cruelly punished all who trespassed on his game preserves; and he invented a kind of man-hunt without precedent in the annals of human wickedness. He surrounded a large tract with his army, 'and then gave orders that the circle should close

¹ Thomas' *Pathán Kings*, p. 243. See his valuable monograph entitled 'Muhammad Bin Tughlak's Forced Currency,' *op. cit.* pp. 239-261.

towards the centre, and that all within it (mostly inoffensive peasants) should be slaughtered like wild beasts. This sort of hunt was more than once repeated; and on a subsequent occasion, there was a general massacre of the inhabitants of the great city of Kanauj. These horrors led in due time to famine; and the miseries of the country exceeded all powers of description.¹

His son, Fīruz Tughlak (1351-88), ruled mercifully, but had to recognise the independence of the Muhammadan kingdoms of Bengal and the Deccan, and suffered much from bodily infirmities and court intrigues.² He undertook many public works, such as dams across rivers for irrigation, tanks, caravan-sarāis, mosques, colleges, hospitals, and bridges. But his greatest achievement was the old Jumna Canal. This work drew its waters from the Jumna, near a point where it leaves the mountains, and connected that river with the Ghaggar and the Sutlej by irrigation channels.³ Part of it has been reconstructed by the British Government, and spreads a margin of fertility on either side to this day. But the dynasty of Tughlak soon sunk amid Muhammadan mutinies and Hindu revolts; and under Mahmūd, its last real king, Northern India fell an easy prey to the great Mughal invasion of 1398.

In that year, Timūr (Tamerlane) swept through the Afghan passes at the head of the united hordes of Tartary. He defeated the Tughlak King, Mahmūd, under the walls of Delhi, and entered the capital. During five days, a massacre raged; 'some streets were rendered impassable by heaps of dead,'⁴ while Timūr calmly looked on and held a feast in honour of his victory. On the last day of 1398 he resumed his march, with a 'sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise' to God, in Fīruz's marble mosque on the banks of the Jumna. He crossed the Ganges, and proceeded as far as Hardwār, after another great massacre at Meerut. Then, skirting the foot of the Himālayas, he retired through their north-western passes into Central Asia (1399).

Timūr left no traces of his power in India, save ruined cities. On his departure, Mahmūd Tughlak crept back from

¹ Elphinstone's *History of India*, pp. 405, 406 (ed. 1866).

² Materials for his reign: Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. i. iii. iv. vi. viii.; *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 444-465 (ed. 1829).

³ Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, p. 294. See article JUMNA CANAL, WESTERN, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

⁴ *Firishta*, vol. i. p. 493. His whole account of Timūr's invasion is very vivid, vol. i. pp. 485-497 (ed. 1829).

Fīruz Shāh
Tughlak,
1351-88.

Hiscanal.

Mahmūd
Tughlak.

Timūr's
(Tamei-
lane's)
invasion,
1398.

Ruin of
the Tugh-
laks, 1399.

his retreat in Gujarát, and nominally ruled till 1412. The Tughlak line ended in 1414.

The Sayyids, 1414-50. It was succeeded by the Sayyid dynasty, who ruled from 1414 till 1450. The Afghán house of Lodi followed, from 1450 to 1526. But some of these Sultáns reigned over only a few miles round Delhi; and during the whole period, the Hindu princes and the local Muhammadan kings were practically independent throughout the greater part of India. The house of Lodi was crushed beneath the Mughal invasion of Bábar in 1526.

Hindu kingdoms of the Deccan. Bábar founded the Mughal Empire of India, whose last representative died a British State prisoner at Rangoon in 1862. Before entering on the story of that great Empire, we must survey for a moment the kingdoms, Hindu and Muhammadan, on the south of the Vindhya range. The three ancient kingdoms, Chera, Chola, and Pándya occupied, as we have seen,¹ the Dravidian country peopled by Tamil-speaking races. Pándya, the largest of them, had its capital at Madura, and traces its foundation to the 4th century B.C. The Chola kingdom had its head-quarters successively at Combaconum and Tanjore. Talkad, in Mysore, now buried by the sands of the Káveri, was the capital of the Chera kingdom. The 116th king of the Pándya dynasty was overthrown by the Muhammadan general Malik Káfur, *circa* 1304. But the Musalmáns failed to establish their power in the extreme south, and a series of Hindu dynasties ruled from Madura over the old Pándya kingdom until the 18th century. No European kingdom can boast a continuous succession such as that of Madura, traced back by the piety of genealogists to the 4th century B.C. The Chera kingdom enumerates fifty kings, and the Chola sixty-six, besides minor dynasties.

Kingdom of Vijayanagar, 1118-1565. But authentic history in Southern India begins with the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar or Narsinha, which flourished from 1118 to 1565 A.D. The capital can still be traced within the Madras District of Bellary, on the right bank of the Tungabhadra river,—vast ruins of temples, fortifications, tanks, and bridges, now inhabited by hyænas and snakes. For at least three centuries, Vijayanagar dominated the southern part of the Indian peninsula. Its Rájás waged war and made peace on equal terms with the Muhammadan Sultáns of the Deccan.

Those Sultáns derived their origin from the conquest of

¹ At the beginning of this chapter; and articles CHERA, CHOLA, PANDYA, in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

Alá-ud-dín (*post* 1303 A.D.). After a period of confused fighting, the Bahmaní kingdom of the Deccan emerged as the representative of Muhammadan rule in Southern India. Its founder, Zafar Khán, an Afghán general during the reign of Muhammad Tughlak (1325-51), defeated the Delhi troops, and set up as Musalmán sovereign of the Deccan. Having in early youth been the slave of a Bráhmaṇ who had treated him kindly and foretold his future greatness, he took the title of Bahmaní,¹ and transmitted it to his successors.

Muham-
madan
States
in the
Deccan,
1303.

The rise of the Bahmaní dynasty is usually assigned to the year 1347, and it lasted for 178 years, until 1525.² Its successive capitals were Gulbargah, Warangal, and Bídár, all in the Haidarábád territory; and it loosely corresponded with the Nizám's Dominions of the present day. At the height of their power, the Bahmaní kings claimed sovereignty over half the Deccan, from the Tungabhadra river in the south to Orissa in the north, and from Masulipatam on the east to Goa on the west. Their direct government was, however, much more confined. In their early struggle against the Delhi throne, they derived support from the Hindu southern kingdoms of Vijayanagar and Warangal. But during the greater part of its career, the Bahmaní dynasty represented the cause of Islám against Hinduism on the south of the Vindhya. Its alliances and its wars alike led to a mingling of the Musalmán and Hindu populations.

The
Bahmaní
dynasty,
1347-1525.

For example, the King of Málvá invaded the Bahmaní dominions with a mixed force of 12,000 Afgháns and Rájputs. The Hindu Rájá of Vijayanagar recruited his armies from Afghán mercenaries, whom he paid by assignments of land, and for whom he built a mosque. The Muhammadan Bahmaní troops, on the other hand, were often led by converted Hindus. The Bahmaní army was itself made up of two hostile sects of Musalmáns. One sect consisted of Shiás, chiefly Persians, Turks or Tartars from Central Asia; the other, of native-born Musalmáns of Southern India, together with Abyssinian mercenaries, both of whom professed the Sunni faith. The rivalry between these Musalmán sects frequently imperilled the Bahmaní throne. The dynasty reached its highest power under the Bahmaní Alá-ud-dín II. about 1437, and was broken up by its discordant elements between 1489 and 1525.

Composite
armies,
1347-1525.

Mingling
of Hindus
and Musal-
máns.

Fall of
Bahmaní
dynasty,
1489-1525.

¹ His royal name in full was Sultán (or Sháh) Alá-ud-dín Gángo Bahmaní.

² These extreme dates are taken from Thomas' *Pathán Kings*, pp. 340, 341. Materials for the Bahmaní dynasty: Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. iv. vii. viii.; *Firishta*, vol. ii. pp. 283-558 (ed. 1829).

Five Muhammadan States of the Deccan, 1489-1688.

Out of its fragments, five independent Muhammadan kingdoms in the Deccan were formed. These were—(1) The Adil Sháhí dynasty, with its capital at Bijápur, founded in 1489 by a son of Amurath II., Sultán of the Ottomans; annexed by the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in 1686-88. (2) The Kutab Sháhí dynasty, with its capital at Golconda, founded in 1512 by a Túrkomán adventurer; also annexed by Aurangzeb in 1687-88. (3) The Nizám Sháhí dynasty, with its capital at Ahmadnagar, founded in 1490 by a Bráhman renegade from the Vijayanagar Court; subverted by the Mughal Emperor Sháh Jahán in 1636. (4) The Imad Sháhí dynasty of Berar, with its capital at Ellichpur, founded in 1484 also by a Hindu from Vijayanagar; annexed to the Ahmadnagar kingdom (No. 3) in 1572. (5) The Barid Sháhí dynasty, with its capital at Bídár, founded 1492-1498 by a Túrki or Georgian slave. The Barid Sháhí territories were small and undefined; independent till after 1609. Bídár fort was finally taken by Aurangzeb in 1657.

Fall of Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar.

Battle of Tálíkot, 1565.

Space precludes any attempt to trace the history of these local Muhammadan dynasties of Southern India. They preserved their independence until the firm establishment of the Mughal Empire in the north, under Akbar's successors. For a time they had to struggle against the great Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. In 1565 they combined against that power, and, aided by a rebellion within Vijayanagar itself, they overthrew it at Tálíkot in 1565.

Independent Náyaks and Pálegárs of Southern India.

The battle of Tálíkot marks the final downfall of Vijayanagar as a centralized Hindu kingdom. But its local Hindu chiefs or Náyaks seized upon their respective fiefs, and the Muhammadan kings of the south were only able to annex a part of its dominions. From the Náyaks are descended the well-known Palegárs of the Madras Presidency, and the present Maharájá of Mysore. One of the blood-royal of Vijayanagar fled to Chandragiri, and founded a line which exercised a prerogative of its former sovereignty by granting the site of Madras to the English in 1639. Another scion, claiming the same high descent, lingers to the present day near the ruins of Vijayanagar, and is known as the Rájá of Anagundi, a feudatory of the Nizám of Haidarábád. The independence of the local Hindu chiefs in Southern India, throughout the Muhammadan period, is illustrated by the Manjarábád family, which maintained its authority from 1397 to 1799.¹

Lower Bengal threw off the authority of Delhi in 1340. Its

¹ See article MANJARABAD, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

Muhammadan governor, Fakír-ud-dín, set up as sovereign, with his capital at Gaur, and stamped coin in his own name. A succession of twenty independent kings ruled Bengal until 1538, when it was temporarily annexed to the Mughal Empire by Humáyún. It was finally incorporated with that Empire by Akbar in 1576. The great province of Gujarát in Western India had in like manner grown into an independent Muhammadan kingdom, which lasted for two centuries, from 1391 till conquered by Akbar in 1573. Málwá, which had also set up as an independent State under its Muhammadan governors, was annexed by the King of Gujarát in 1531. Even Jaunpur, including the territory of Benares, in the very centre of the Gangetic valley, maintained its independence as a separate Musalmán State for nearly a hundred years from 1394 to 1478, under the disturbed rule of the Sayyids and of the first Lodí at Delhi.

Independence of Bengal, 1340-1576;

Of Gujarát, 1391-1573;

Of Jaunpur, 1394-1478.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE (1526 TO 1761 A.D.).

State of India in 1526. WHEN, therefore, BABAR invaded India in 1526, he found it divided among a number of local Muhammadan kings and Hindu princes. An Afghán Sultán of the house of Lodí, with his capital at Agra, ruled over what little was left of the historical kingdom of Delhi. Bábar, literally the Lion, born in 1482, was the sixth in descent from Timúr the Tartar. At the early age of twelve, he succeeded his father in the petty kingdom of Ferghána on the Jaxartes (1494); and after romantic adventures, conquered Samarkand, the capital of Tamerlane's line in 1497. Overpowered by rebellion, and driven out of the Valley of the Oxus, he seized the kingdom of Kábul in 1504. During twenty-two years he grew in strength on the Afghán side of the Indian passes, till in 1526 he burst through them into the Punjab, and defeated the Delhi sovereign Ibráhím Lodí at Pánípat. This was the first of the three great battles which decided the fate of India on that same plain, viz. in 1526, 1556, and 1761. Having entered Delhi, he received the allegiance of the Muhammadans, but was speedily attacked by the Rájputs of Chittor. In 1527, Bábar defeated them at Fatehpur Síkri near Agra, after a battle memorable for its perils and for Bábar's vow, in his extremity, never again to touch wine. He rapidly extended his power as far as Múltán and Behar. He died at Agra in 1530, leaving an Empire which stretched from the river Amu in Central Asia to the borders of the Gangetic delta in Lower Bengal.

Invades India, 1526. His son, HUMAYUN, succeeded him in India, but had to make over Kábul and the Western Punjab to his rival brother Kámrán.¹ Humáyún was thus left to govern a new conquest,

Battles of Pánípat. Conquers Northern India, 1526-30. Humáyún, Emperor, 1530-56.

A.D. ¹ REIGN OF HUMAYUN :—

1530. Accession to the throne. Capture of Lahore and occupation of the Punjab by his rival brother Kámrán. Final defeat of the Lodís under Mahmúd Lodí, and acquisition of Jaunpur by Humáyún.

1532. Humáyún's campaigns in Málwá and Gujarát.

[Footnote continued on next page.]

and at the same time was deprived of the base from which his father had drawn his supplies. The Mughal hordes who had accompanied Bábar were more hateful to the long-settled Indian Afgháns than the Hindus themselves. After ten years of fighting, Humáyún was driven out of India by the Bengali Afgháns under Sher Sháh, the Governor of Bengal. While flying through the desert of Sind, as an exile to Persia, his famous son Akbar was born to him in the petty fort of Umarkot (1542). Sher Sháh set up as Emperor, but was killed while storming the rock-fortress at Kálinjar (1545). His son succeeded to his power. But under his grandson, the third of the Afghán house, the Provinces revolted, including Málwá, the Punjab, and Bengal. Humáyún returned to India, and with Akbar, then only in his thirteenth year, defeated the Indo-Afghán army after a desperate battle at Pánipat (1556). India now passed finally from the Afgháns to the Mughals. Sher Sháh's line disappears; and Humáyún, having recovered his Kábul dominions, reigned again for a few months at Delhi, but died in 1556.

Humáyún
expelled
by Sher
Sháh.

Afghán
dynasty of
Delhi,
1540-56.

Humáyún
regains
his throne.

AKBAR THE GREAT, the real founder of the Mughal Empire as it existed for two centuries, succeeded his father at the age of fourteen.¹ Born in 1542, his reign lasted for almost fifty years, from 1556 to 1605, and was therefore contemporary with that of our own Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603). His father, Humáyún, left but a small kingdom in India, scarcely extending beyond the districts around Agra and Delhi. At the time of Humáyún's death, Akbar was absent in the Punjab under the guardianship of Bairám Khán, fighting the revolted Afgháns. Bairám, a Túrkomán by birth, had been the support of the exiled Humáyún, and held the real command of the army which restored him to his throne at Pánipat in 1556. He now

Akbar the
Great,
1556-1605.

1539. Humáyún defeated by Sher Sháh, the Afghán ruler of Bengal, at Chapar Ghát, near Baxár, the Mughal army being utterly routed. Retreats to Agra.

1540. Humáyún finally defeated by Sher Sháh near Kanauj, and escapes to Persia as an exile. Sher Sháh ascends the Delhi throne.

1556. Humáyún's return to India, and defeat of the Afgháns at Pánipat by his young son Akbar. Remounts the throne, but dies in a few months, and is succeeded by Akbar.

For dates see Thomas' *Pathán Kings*, pp. 379, 380. Materials for Humáyún's reign: Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. iv. v. vi.; *Firishta*, vol. ii. pp. 154-180 (1829); Elphinstone, pp. 441-472 (1866).

¹ Materials for reign of Akbar: the *Ain-i-Akbari*, of Abul Fazl (old translation by Francis Gladwin, 2 vols., 1800; best edition by Professor Blochmann (Calcutta, 1873), left unfinished at his death); Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. i. v. and vi.; *Firishta*, vol. ii. pp. 1812-82; Elphinstone, 495-547 (1866).

Bairám
Regent,
1556-60.

Akbar
reigns for
himself,
1560.

Akbar's
work in
India.

became the Regent for the youthful Akbar, under the honoured title of Khán Bába, equivalent to 'the King's Father.' Brave and skilful as a general, but harsh and overbearing, he raised many enemies; and Akbar, having endured four years of thralldom, took advantage of a hunting-party to throw off his minister's yoke (1560). The fallen Regent, after a struggle between his loyalty and his resentment, revolted, was defeated, but pardoned. Akbar granted him a liberal pension; and Bairám was in the act of starting on a pilgrimage to Mecca, when he fell beneath the knife of an Afghán assassin, whose father he had slain in battle.

The chief events in the reign of Akbar are summarized below.¹ India was seething with discordant elements. The earlier invasions by Túrks, Afgháns, and Mughals had left a powerful Muhammadan population in India under their own chiefs. Akbar reduced these Musalmán States to Provinces of the Delhi Empire. Many of the Hindu kings and Rájput nations had also regained their independence; Akbar brought them into political dependence to his authority. This double task he effected partly by force of arms, but in part also by

¹ REIGN of AKBAR, 1556-1605:—

1542. Born at Umarkot in Sind.

1555-56. Regains the Delhi throne for his father by the great victory over the Afgháns at Pánipt (Bairám Khán in actual command). Succeeds his father after a few months in 1556, under regency of Bairám Khán.

1560. Akbar assumes the direct management of the kingdom. Revolt of Bairám, who is defeated and pardoned.

1566. Invasion of the Punjab by Akbar's rival brother Hákím, who is defeated.

1561-68. Akbar subjugates the Rájput kingdoms to the Mughal Empire.

1572-73. Akbar's campaign in Gujarát, and its re-annexation to the Empire.

1576. Akbar's re-conquest of Bengal; its final annexation to the Mughal Empire.

1581-93. Insurrection in Gujarát. The Province finally subjugated in 1593 to the Mughal Empire.

1586. Akbar's conquest of Kashmír; its final revolt quelled in 1592.

1592. Akbar's conquest and annexation of Sind to the Mughal Empire.

1594. His subjugation of Kandahár, and consolidation of the Mughal Empire over all India north of the Vindhya as far as Kábul and Kandahár.

1595. Unsuccessful expedition of Akbar's army to the Deccan against Ahmadnagar under his son Prince Murád.

1599. Second expedition against Ahmadnagar by Akbar in person. Captures the town, but fails to establish Mughal rule.

1601. Annexation of Khándesh, and return of Akbar to Northern India.

1605. Akbar's death at Agra.

N.B.—Such phrases as 'Akbar's conquest' or 'Akbar's campaign' mean the conquest or campaign by Akbar's armies, and do not necessarily imply his personal presence.

alliances. He enlisted the Rájput princes by marriage and by a sympathetic policy in the support of his throne. He then employed them in high posts, and played off his Hindu generals and Hindu ministers against the Mughal party in Upper India, and against the Afghán faction in Bengal.

Concilia-
tion of
Hindus.

On his accession in 1556, he found the Indian Empire confined to the Punjab, and the districts around Agra and Delhi. He quickly extended it at the expense of his nearest neighbours, namely, the Rájputs. Jaipur was reduced to a fief of the Empire; and Akbar cemented his conquest by marrying the daughter of its Hindu prince. Jodhpur was in like manner overcome; and Akbar married his heir, Salím, who afterwards reigned under the title of Jahángír, to the grand-daughter of the Rájá. The Rájputs of Chittor were overpowered after a long struggle, but disdained to mingle their high-caste Kshattriyan blood even with that of an Emperor. They found shelter among the mountains and in the deserts of the Indus, whence they afterwards emerged to recover most of their old dominions, and to found their capital of Udaipur, which they retain to this day. They still boast that alone, among the great Rájput clans, they never gave a daughter in marriage to a Mughal Emperor.

Akbar
extends
the
Empire.

Reduction
of Rájputs,
1561-68.

Akbar pursued his policy of conciliation towards all the Hindu States. He also took care to provide a career for the lesser Hindu nobility. He appointed his Hindu brother-in-law, the son of the Jaipur Rájá, to be Governor of the Punjab. Rájá Mán Singh, also a Hindu relative, did good war-service for Akbar from Kábul to Orissa. He ruled as Akbar's Governor of Bengal from 1589 to 1604; and again for a short time under Jahángír in 1605-06. Akbar's great finance minister, Rájá Todar Mall, was likewise a Hindu, and carried out the first land settlement and survey of India. Out of 415 *mansabddrs*, or commanders of horse, 51 were Hindus. Akbar abolished the *jazia*, or tax on non-Musalmáns, and placed all his subjects upon a political equality. He had the Sanskrit sacred books and epic poems translated into Persian, and showed a keen interest in the literature and religion of his Hindu subjects. He respected their laws, but he put down their inhuman rites. He forbade trial by ordeal, animal sacrifices, and child-marriages before the age of puberty. He legalized the re-marriage of Hindu widows, but he failed to abolish widow-burning on the husband's funeral pile, although he took steps to ensure that the act should be a voluntary one.

Employ-
ment of
Hindus.

Mán
Singh.

Todar
Mall.

Reform of
Hindu
customs.

Akbar thus incorporated his Hindu subjects into the

Indian
Muham-
madan
States
reduced by
Akbar.

effective machinery of his Empire. With their aid he reduced the independent Muhammadan kings of Northern India. He subjugated the Musalmán potentates from the Punjab to Behar. After a struggle, he wrested Bengal from its Afghán princes of the house of Sher Sháh, who had ruled it from 1539 to 1576. From the latter date, Bengal remained during two centuries a Province of the Mughal Empire, under governors appointed from Delhi (1576-1765). In 1765 it passed by an imperial grant to the British. Orissa, on the Bengal seaboard, submitted to Akbar's armies under his Hindu general, Todar Mall, in 1574.

On the opposite coast of India, Gujarát was reconquered from its Muhammadan king in 1572-73, although not finally subjugated until 1593. Málwá had been reduced in 1570-72. Kashmír was conquered in 1586, and its last revolt quelled in 1592. Sind was also annexed in 1591-92; and by the recovery of Kandahár in 1594, Akbar had extended the Mughal Empire from the heart of Afghánistán across all India north of the Vindhya to Orissa and Sind. The magnificent circumference of Mughal conquest in Northern India and Afghánistán was thus complete.

Capital
changed
from Delhi
to Agra.

Akbar also removed the seat of the Mughal government from Delhi to Agra, and founded Fatehpur Sikrí to be the future capital of the Empire. From this latter project he was, however, dissuaded, by the superior position of Agra on the great water-way of the Jumna. In 1566 he built the Agra fort, whose red sandstone battlements majestically overhang the river to this day.

Akbar's
efforts in
Southern
India.

His efforts to establish the Mughal Empire in Southern India were less successful. Those efforts began in 1586, but during the first twelve years were frustrated by the valour and statesmanship of Chánd Bibí, the queen-regent of Ahmadnagar. This celebrated lady skilfully united the Abyssinian and the Persian factions¹ in the Deccan, and strengthened herself by an alliance with Bijápur and other Muhammadan States of the south. In 1599, Akbar led his armies in person against the princess; but, notwithstanding her assassination by her mutinous troops, Ahmadnagar was not reduced till the reign of Sháh Jahán, in 1637. Akbar subjugated Khándesh; and with this somewhat precarious annexation, his conquests in the Deccan ceased. He returned to Northern India, perhaps feeling that the conquest of the south was beyond the strength of his young Empire. His last years were rendered miserable by the intrigues of his family, and by the misconduct of his

Only
annexed
Khándesh.

¹ Professing the hostile Sunní and Shiah creeds.

beloved son, Prince Salím, afterwards Jahángír. In 1605 he died, and was buried in the noble mausoleum at Sikandra, whose mingled architecture of Buddhist design and Arabesque tracery bear witness to the composite faith of the founder of the Mughal Empire. In 1873, the British Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, presented a cloth of honour to cover the plain marble slab beneath which Akbar lies.

Akbar's conciliation of the Hindus, and his interest in their literature and religion, made him many enemies among the pious Musalmáns. His favourite wife was a Rájput princess; another of his wives is said to have been a Christian; and he ordered his son Prince Murád, when a child, to take lessons in Christianity. On Fridays (the Sabbath of Islám) he loved to collect professors of many religions around him. He listened impartially to the arguments of the Bráhmaṇ and the Musalmán, the Pársí, the ancient fire-worshipper, the Jew, the Jesuit, and the sceptic philosopher. The history of his life, the *Akbar-námah*, records such a conference, in which the Christian priest Redif disputed with a body of Muhammadan *mullás* before an assembly of the doctors of all religions, and is given the best of the argument. Starting from the broad ground of general toleration, Akbar was gradually led on by the stimulant of cosmopolitan discussion to question the truth of his inherited beliefs.

Akbar's
religious
principles.

The counsels of his friend Abul Fazl,¹ coinciding with that sense of superhuman omnipotence which is bred of despotic power, led him at last to promulgate a new State religion,—‘the Divine Faith,’ based upon natural theology, and comprising the best practices of all known creeds. Of this eclectic creed Akbar himself was the prophet, or rather the head of the Church. Every morning he worshipped in public the sun, as the representative of the divine soul which animates the universe, while he was himself worshipped by the ignorant multitude. It is doubtful how far he encouraged this popular adoration, but he certainly allowed his disciples to prostrate themselves before him in private. The stricter Muhammadans accused him, therefore, of accepting a homage permitted only to God.²

His new
faith.

Divine
honours to
Akbar.

¹ Abul Fazl is accused, by the unanimous voice of the Muhammadan historians, of leading away Akbar's religious sympathies from Islám. See the valuable biography of *Shaiikh Abul Fazl-i-'Allámí*, prefixed to Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbarí*, p. xxix., etc.

² Akbar's perversion from Islám has formed the subject of much learned censure by Mullá 'Abdul Kádir Badáúní and other Musalmán writers. The question is exhaustively dealt with by Blochmann in a 'Note' of 46 pages: *Ain-i-Akbarí*, pp. 167-213. See also Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. v. pp. 477 *et seq.*

Akbar's organization of the Empire. Akbar not only subdued all India to the north of the Vindhya Mountains, he also organized it into an Empire. He partitioned it into Provinces, over each of which he placed a Governor, or Viceroy, with full civil and military control. This control was divided into three departments—the military, the judicial, including the police, and the revenue. With a view to preventing mutinies of the troops, or assertions of independence by their leaders, he reorganized the army on a new basis. He substituted, as far as possible, money payments to the soldiers, for the old system of grants of land (*jāgirs*) to the generals. Where this change could not be carried out, he brought the holders of the old military fiefs under the control of the central authority at Delhi. He further checked the independence of his provincial generals by a sort of feudal organization, in which the Hindu tributary princes took their place side by side with the Mughal nobles.

Akbar's system of justice, The judicial administration was presided over by a lord justice (*Mir-i-adl*) at the capital, aided by *Kāzīs* or law-officers in the principal towns. The police in the cities were under a superintendent or *kotwāl*, who was also a magistrate. In country districts where police existed at all, they were left to the management of the landholders or revenue officers. But throughout rural India, no regular police force can be said to have existed for the protection of person and property until after the establishment of British rule. The Hindu village had its hereditary watchman, who in many parts of the country was taken from the predatory castes, and as often leagued with the robbers as opposed them. The landholders and revenue-officers had each their own set of myrmidons who plundered the peasantry in their names.

Akbar's revenue system. Akbar's revenue system was based on the ancient Hindu customs, and survives to this day. He first executed a survey to measure the land. His officers then found out the produce of each acre of land, and settled the Government share, amounting to one-third of the gross produce. Finally, they fixed the rates at which this share of the crop might be commuted into a money payment. These processes, known as the land settlement, were at first repeated every year. But to save the peasant from the extortions and vexations incident to an annual inquiry, Akbar's land settlement was afterwards made for ten years. His officers strictly enforced the payment of a third of the whole produce, and Akbar's land revenue from Northern India exceeded what the British take at the present day.

From his fifteen Provinces, including Kábul beyond the Afghán frontier, and Khándesh in Southern India, Akbar demanded 14 millions sterling per annum; or excluding Kábul, Khándesh, and Sind, 12½ millions. The British land-tax from a much larger area of Northern India was only 11¼ millions in 1883.¹ Allowing for the difference in area and in the purchasing power of silver, Akbar's tax was about three times the amount which the British take. Two later returns show the land revenue of Akbar at 16½ and 17½ millions sterling. The Provinces had also to support a local militia (*búmí* = *bhúmí*) in contradistinction to the regular royal army, at a cost of at least 10 millions sterling. Excluding both Kábul and Khándesh, Akbar's demand from the soil of Northern India exceeded 22 millions sterling per annum, under the two items of land revenue and militia cess. There were also a number of miscellaneous taxes. Akbar's total revenue is estimated at 42 millions.²

Akbar's land revenue.

His total revenue.

¹ Namely, Bengal, £3,816,796; Assam, £385,504; North-Western Provinces and Oudh, £5,700,816; and Punjab, £1,889,807: total, £11,792,923.—*Administration Reports* (1882-83).

² PROVINCES OF THE DELHI EMPIRE UNDER AKBAR, CIRC. 1580.

| | Land-tax in Rupees. |
|--|---------------------|
| 1. Allahábád, | 5,310,677 |
| 2. Agra, | 13,656,257 |
| 3. Oudh, | 5,043,954 |
| 4. Ajmere, | 7,153,449 |
| 5. Gujarát, | 10,924,122 |
| 6. Behar, | 5,547,985 |
| 7. Bengal, | 14,961,482 |
| 8. Delhi, | 15,040,388 |
| 9. Lahore, | 13,986,460 |
| 10. Múltán, | 9,600,764 |
| 11. Málwá, | 6,017,376 |
| 12. Berar, | 17,376,117 |
| 13. Khándesh, | 7,563,237 |
| 14. Ahmadnagar (only nominally a Province, yielded no revenue), | ... |
| 15. Tatta (Sind), | 1,656,284 |
| Total, | 133,838,552 |
| 16. Kábul (omitting payments in kind), | 8,071,024 |
| Grand Total, | 141,909,576 |

The land revenue was returned at 16½ millions sterling in 1594, and £17,450,000 at Akbar's death in 1605. The aggregate taxation of Akbar was 32 millions sterling; with 10 millions for militia cess (*búmí*); total, 42 millions sterling. See Thomas' *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 5-21 and p. 54 (Trübner, 1871). These and the following conversions

The large
totals of
Mughal
taxation.

Are they to
be relied
on?

General
Cunning-
ham's
view.

Since the first edition of this work was written, the author has carefully reconsidered the evidence for the large revenue totals under the Mughal Emperors. The principal authority on the subject is Mr. Edward Thomas, F.R.S., who has summed up the results of a lifetime devoted to Indian numismatics, in his *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire from A.D. 1593 to A.D. 1707*.¹ No one can study that work without acknowledging the laborious and accurate research which Mr. Thomas has devoted to the points involved. His results were accepted without reserve in the first edition of *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Since the publication of this work, however, the author has received several communications from Mr. H. G. Keene, questioning the soundness of Mr. Thomas' conclusions. Those conclusions point to a comparatively heavier taxation under the Mughal Emperors than under British rule; and have been made the basis of contrasts flattering to the British administration. The author felt it, therefore, incumbent on him to submit Mr. Keene's views to the scrutiny of the two most eminent numismatists now living, namely General Cunningham and Mr. Edward Thomas himself.

Mr. Thomas, after examining the counter-statements, adheres to his former conclusions. General Cunningham is inclined to think that the great totals of revenue recorded by Muhammadan writers, could not have been actually enforced from India at the different periods to which they refer. He thinks that individual items may be reduced by a technical scrutiny.² But that scrutiny only affects certain of the entries. He rests his general conclusion on wider grounds, and believes that the revenues recorded by the Muhammadan writers represent rather the official demand than the amounts actually realized. The following pages will reproduce Mr. Edward Thomas' conclusions, as revised by himself for the first edition of this work. But they are reproduced subject to the considerations stated in the present paragraph.

are made at the nominal rate of 10 rupees to the pound sterling. But the actual rate was then about 8 or 9 rupees to the £. The real revenues of the Mughal Emperors represented, therefore, a considerably larger sum in sterling than the amounts stated in the text and footnotes. The purchasing power of silver, expressed in the staple food-grains of India, was two or three times greater than now.

¹ This monograph was written as a supplement to Mr. Thomas' *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Delhi*. (Trübner & Co., 1871.)

² See General Cunningham's Letter, dated 5th July 1883, printed in the paper 'On some Copper Coins of Akbar,' in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. liv. Part I., 1885.

It may be here convenient to exhibit the revenues of the Mughal Empire in India, as compiled by Mr. Edward Thomas from Muhammadan authorities and European travellers, during the century from its practical foundation by Akbar to its final expansion under Aurangzeb in 1697, and thence to its fall in 1761:—

REVENUES OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS AT THIRTEEN VARIOUS PERIODS FROM 1593 TO 1761,¹ FROM A SMALLER POPULATION THAN THAT OF BRITISH INDIA.

| Mughal Emperors. | Authority. | Land Revenue. | Revenue from all Sources. |
|------------------------|---|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 Akbar, A.D. 1593. | Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad: not for all India, Allowance for Provincial Troops (<i>bímí</i>), | .. | £32,000,000 |
| 2 " 1594. | Abul Fazl mss.: not for all India, | net £16,574,388 | 10,000,000 |
| 3 " " " | Official Documents: not for all India, . | net 16,582,440 | .. |
| 4 " " " | Indian Authorities quoted by De Laet, . | net 17,450,000 | .. |
| 5 Jahāngir, 1609-11. | Captain Hawkins, . | .. | .. |
| 6 " 1628. | Abdul Hamíd Lāhōrī, . | net 17,500,000 | net 50,000,000 |
| 7 Shāh Jahān, 1648-49. | " " " " " " " " | net 22,000,000 | .. |
| 8 Aurangzeb, 1655. | Official Documents, . | gross 26,743,970 | .. |
| 9 " 1670? | Later Official Documents, . | net 24,056,114 | .. |
| 10 " 1695. | Genelli Careri, . | gross 35,041,431 | .. |
| 11 " 1697. | Manucci (Catrou), . | net 34,505,890 | .. |
| 12 " 1707. | Ramusio, . | net 38,719,400 | net 80,000,000 |
| 13 Shāh Alam, 1761. | Official Statement presented to Ahmad } Shāh Abdālī on his entering Delhi, . | net 39,179,692 | net 77,438,800 |
| | | net 34,506,640 | .. |

¹ The above Table is reproduced from Mr. Edward Thomas' *Revenue Accounts of the Mughal Empire*, published in 1871. Mr. Thomas has kindly revised it, from materials collected since that date. The words *net* and *gross* are inserted by his direction.

Mughal
revenue,
1697-1761
A.D.

Rájá Todar Mall. Akbar's Hindu minister, Rájá Todar Mall, conducted the revenue settlement, and his name is still a household word.

Abul Fazl. among the husbandmen of Bengal. Abul Fazl, the man of letters and Finance Minister of Akbar, compiled a Statistical Survey of the Empire, together with many vivid pictures of his master's court and daily life, in the *Ain-i-Akbari*—a work of perennial interest, and one which has proved of great value in carrying out the Statistical Survey of India at the present day.¹ Abul Fazl was killed in 1602, at the instigation of Prince Salím, the heir to the throne.

Jahángír, Emperor, 1605-27. SALIM, the favourite son of Akbar, succeeded his father in 1605, and ruled until 1627 under the title of JAHANGIR, or Conqueror of the World. The chief events of his reign are summarized below.² His reign of twenty-two years was spent in reducing the rebellions of his sons, in exalting the influence

¹ The old translation is by Gladwin (1800); the best is by the late M. Blochmann, Principal of the Calcutta *Madrasah*, or Muhammadan college, whose early death was one of the greatest losses which Persian scholarship has sustained in this century.

² REIGN OF JAHANGIR, 1605-27:—

- 1605. Accession of Jahángír.
- 1606. Flight, rebellion, and imprisonment of his eldest son, Khusrú.
- 1610. Malik Ambar recovers Ahmadnagar from the Mughals, and re-asserts independence of the Deccan dynasty, with its new capital at Aunang-ábád.
- 1611. Jahángír's marriage with Núr Jahán.
- 1612. Jahángír again defeated by Malik Ambar in an attempt to recover Ahmadnagar.
- 1613-14. Defeat of the Udaipur Rájá by Jahángír's son Sháh Jahán. Unsuccessful revolt in Kábul against Jahángír.
- 1615. Embassy of Sir T. Roe to the Court of Jahángír.
- 1616-17. Temporary re-conquest of Ahmadnagar by Jahángír's son Sháh Jahán.
- 1621. Renewed disturbances in the Deccan; ending in treaty with Sháh Jahán. Capture of Kandahár from Jahángír's troops by the Persians.
- 1623-25. Rebellion against Jahángír by his son Sháh Jahán, who, after defeating the Governor of Bengal at Rájmahál, seized that Province and Behar, but was himself overthrown by Mahábat Khán, his father's general, and sought refuge in the Deccan, where he unites with his old opponent Malik Ambar.
- 1626. The successful general Mahábat Khán seizes the person of Jahángír. Intrigues of the Empress Núr Jahán.
- 1627. Jahángír recovers his liberty, and sends Mahábat Khán against Sháh Jahán in the Deccan. Mahábat joins the rebel prince against the Emperor Jahángír.
- 1627. Death of Jahángír.

Materials for Jahángír's reign: Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. v. vi. and vii.; Elphinstone, pp. 550-603.

of his wife, and in drunken self-indulgence. In spite of long wars in the Deccan, he added little to his father's territories. India south of the Vindhya still continued apart from the northern Empire of Delhi. Malik Ambar, the Abyssinian minister of Ahmadnagar, maintained, in spite of reverses, the independence of that kingdom. At the end of Jahángir's reign, his rebel son, Prince Sháh Jahán, was a refugee in the Deccan, in alliance with Malik Ambar against the Mughal troops. The Rájputs also began to re-assert their independence. In 1614, Prince Sháh Jahán on behalf of the Emperor defeated the Udaipur Rájá. But the conquest was only partial and for a time. Meanwhile, the Rájputs formed an important contingent of the imperial armies, and 5000 of their cavalry aided Sháh Jahán to put down a revolt in Kábul. The Afghán Province of Kandahár was wrested from Jahángir by the Persians in 1621. The land-tax of the Mughal Empire remained at 17½ millions under Jahángir, but his total revenues were estimated at 50 millions sterling.¹

Rebellion
of his son.

Revolt
of the
Rájputs.

The principal figure in Jahángir's reign is his Empress, Núr Jahán,² the Light of the World. Born in great poverty, but of a noble Persian family, her beauty won the love of Jahángir while they were both in their first youth, during the reign of Akbar. The old Emperor tried to put her out of his son's way, by marrying her to a brave soldier, who obtained high employment in Bengal. Jahángir on his accession to the throne commanded her divorce. Her husband refused, and was killed. His wife, being brought into the imperial palace, lived for some time in chaste seclusion as his widow, but in the end emerged as Núr Jahán, the Light of the World. She surrounded herself with her relatives, and at first influenced Jahángir for his good. But the jealousy of the imperial princes and of the Mughal generals against her party led to intrigue and rebellion. In 1626, her successful general, Mahábat Khán, found himself compelled, in self-defence, to turn against her. He seized the Emperor, whom he kept, together with Núr Jahán, in captivity for six months. Jahángir died in the following year, 1627, in the midst of a rebellion against him by his son Sháh Jahán and his greatest general, Mahabát Khán.

The Em-
press Núr
Jahán.

Jahángir's personal character is vividly portrayed by Sir Thomas Roe, the first British Ambassador to India (1615).

Jahángir's
personal
character.

¹ Mr. Edward Thomas' *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 21-26 and p. 54.

² Otherwise known as Núr Mahal, the Light of the Palace.

His
drunken
feasts.

Agra continued to be the central seat of the government, but the imperial army on the march formed in itself a splendid capital. Jahāngir thought that Akbar had too openly severed himself from the Muhammadan faith. The new Emperor conformed more strictly to outward observances, but lacked the inward religious feeling of his father. While he forbade the use of wine to his subjects, he spent his own nights in drunken revelry. He talked religion over his cups until he reached a certain stage of intoxication, when he 'fell to weeping, and to various passions, which kept them to midnight.' In public he maintained a strict appearance of virtue, and never allowed any person whose breath smelled of wine to enter his presence. A courtier who had shared his midnight revels, and indiscreetly referred to them next morning, was gravely examined as to who were the companions of his debauch, and one of them was bastinadoed so that he died.

Jahāngir's
justice.

During the day-time, when sober, Jahāngir tried to work wisely for his Empire. A chain hung down from the citadel to the ground, and communicated with a cluster of golden bells in his own chamber, so that every suitor might apprise the Emperor of his demand for justice without the intervention of the courtiers. Many European adventurers repaired to his court, and Jahāngir patronized alike their arts and their religion. In his earlier years he had accepted the eclectic faith of his father. It is said that on his accession he had even permitted the divine honours paid to Akbar to be continued to himself. His first wife was a Hindu princess; figures of Christ and the Virgin Mary adorned his rosary; and two of his nephews embraced Christianity with his full approval.¹

His
religion.

Shāh
Jahān,
Emperor,
1628-58.

SHAH JAHAN hurried north from the Deccan in 1627, and proclaimed himself Emperor at Agra in January 1628.² He

¹ Elphinstone's *Hist.*, p. 560 (ed. 1866), on the authority of Roe, Hawkins, Terry, Coryat.

² Materials for Shāh Jahān's reign: Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. vi. vii. and viii.; Elphinstone, pp. 574-603.

REIGN OF SHAH JAHAN, 1628-58:—

1627. Imprisonment of Nūr Jahān on the death of Jahāngir, by Asaf Khān on behalf of Shāh Jahān.

1628. Shāh Jahān returns from the Deccan and ascends the throne (January). He murders his brother and kinsmen.

1628-30. Afghān uprisings against Shāh Jahān in Northern India and in the Deccan.

[Footnote continued on next page.]

put down for ever the court faction of the Empress Núr Jahán, by confining her to private life upon a liberal allowance ; and by murdering his brother Shahriyár, with all members of the house of Akbar who might prove rivals to the throne. He was, however, just to his people, blameless in his private habits, a good financier, and as economical as a magnificent court, splendid public works, and distant military expeditions could permit.

Under Sháh Jahán, the Mughal Empire was finally shorn of Sháh its Afghán Province of Kandahár ; but it extended its con-quests in the Deccan, and raised the magnificent buildings in Northern India which now form its most splendid memorials. After a temporary occupation of Balkh, and the actual re-conquest of Kandahár by the Delhi troops in 1637, Shah Jahán lost much of his Afghán territories, and the Province of Kandahár was severed from the Mughal Empire by the Persians in 1653. On the other hand, in the Deccan, the kingdom of Ahmadnagar (to which Ellichpur had been united in 1572) was at last annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1636. Bidar fort was taken in 1657, while the remaining two of the five Muhammadan kingdoms of Southern India,¹ namely Bijápur and Golconda, were forced to pay tribute, although not finally reduced until the succeeding reign of Aurangzeb. But the Maráthás now appear on the scene, and commenced,

Sháh
Jahán
loses
Kandahár,
finally in
1653.

Conquests
in the
Deccan.

1629-35. Sháh Jahán's wars in the Deccan with Ahmadnagar and Bijápur ; unsuccessful siege of Bijápur.

1634. Sháhjí Bhonsla, grandfather of Sivají, the founder of the Maráthá power, attempts to restore the independent King of Ahmadnagar, but fails, and in 1636 makes peace with the Emperor Sháh Jahán.

1636. Bijápur and Golconda agree to pay tribute to Sháh Jahán. Final submission of Ahmadnagar to the Mughal Empire.

1637. Re-conquest of Kandahár by Sháh Jahán from the Persians.

1645. Invasion and temporary conquest of Balkh by Sháh Jahán. Balkh was abandoned two years later.

1647-53. Kandahár again taken by the Persians, and three unsuccessful attempts made by the Emperor's sons Aurangzeb and Dará to recapture it. Kandahár finally lost to the Mughal Empire, 1653.

1655-56. Renewal of the war in the Deccan under Prince Aurangzeb. His attack on Haidarábád, and temporary submission of the Golconda king to the Mughal Empire.

1656. Renewed campaign of Sháh Jahán's armies against Bijápur.

1657-58. Dispute as to the succession between the Emperor's sons. Aurangzeb defeats Dará ; imprisons Murád, his other brother ; deposes his father by confining him in his palace, and openly assumes the government. Sháh Jahán dies, practically a State prisoner in the fort of Agra, in 1666.

¹ *Vide ante*, end of chap. x.

unsuccessfully at Ahmadnagar in 1637, that series of persistent Hindu attacks which were destined in the next century to break down the Mughal Empire.

Aurangzeb and his brothers carried on the wars in Southern India and in Afghánistán for their father, Sháh Jahán. Save for one or two expeditions, the Emperor lived a magnificent life in the north of India. At Agra he raised the exquisite mausoleum of the Táj Mahál, a dream in marble, designed by Titans and finished by jewellers.¹ His Pearl Mosque, the *Motí Masjid*, within the Agra fort is perhaps the purest and loveliest house of prayer in the world. Not content with enriching his grandfather Akbar's capital, Agra, with these and other architectural glories, he planned the re-transfer of the seat of Government to Delhi, and adorned that city with buildings of unrivalled magnificence. Its Great Mosque, or *Jamá Masjid*, was commenced in the fourth year of his reign and completed in the tenth. The palace at Delhi, now the fort, covered a vast parallelogram, 1600 feet by 3200, with exquisite and sumptuous buildings in marble and fine stone. A deeply-recessed portal leads into a vaulted hall, rising two storeys like the nave of a gigantic Gothic cathedral, 375 feet in length; 'the noblest entrance,' says the historian of architecture, 'to any existing palace.'² The *Diwán-i-Khás*, or Court of Private Audience, overlooks the river, a masterpiece of delicate inlaid work and poetic design. Sháh Jahán spent many years of his reign at Delhi, and prepared the city for its destiny as the most magnificent capital in the world under his successor Aurangzeb. But exquisite as are its public buildings, the manly vigour of Akbar's red-stone fort at Agra, with its bold sculptures and square Hindu construction, has given place to a certain effeminate beauty in the marble structures of Sháh Jahán.³

¹ Sháh Jahán's architectural works are admirably described in Dr. James Fergusson's *Hist. Architecture*, vol. iii. pp. 589-602 (ed. 1876). See also article AGRA CITY, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² Fergusson's *Hist. Architecture*, vol. iii. p. 592. See also article DELHI CITY, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

³ PROVINCES OF THE DELHI EMPIRE UNDER SHAH JAHAN, 1648-49 :—

| In India— | Land-tax in Rupees. |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Delhi, | 25,000,000 |
| 2. Agra, | 22,500,000 |
| 3. Lahore, | 22,500,000 |
| 4. Ajmere, | 15,000,000 |
| Carry forward, | 85,000,000 |

Akbar's dynasty lay under the curse of rebellious sons. As Jahāngīr had risen against his most loving father, Akbar; and as Shāh Jahān had mutinied against Jahāngīr; so Shāh Jahān in his turn suffered from the intrigues and rebellions of his family. In 1658, Shāh Jahān, old and worn out, fell ill; and in the following year his son Aurangzeb, after a treacherous conflict with his brethren, deposed his father, and proclaimed himself Emperor in his stead. The unhappy Shāh Jahān was kept in confinement for seven years, and died a State prisoner in the fort of Agra in 1666.

Under Shāh Jahān, the Mughal Empire attained its highest union of strength with magnificence. His son Aurangzeb added to its extent, but at the same time sowed the seeds of its decay. Akbar's land revenue of 17½ millions had been raised, chiefly by new conquests, to 22 millions sterling under Shāh Jahān. But this sum included Kashmīr, and five Provinces in Afghānistān, some of which were lost during Shāh Jahān's reign. The land revenue of the Mughal Empire within India, under Shāh Jahān, was 20¾ millions. The magnificence of Shāh Jahān's court was the wonder of European travellers. His Peacock Throne, with its tail blazing in the shifting natural colours of rubies, sapphires, and emeralds, was valued by the jeweller Tavernier at 6½ millions sterling.

| | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| Brought forward, | Rs. 85,000,000 |
| 5. Daulatābād, | 13,750,000 |
| 6. Berar, | 13,750,000 |
| 7. Ahmadābād, | 13,250,000 |
| 8. Bengal, | 12,500,000 |
| 9. Allahābād, | 10,000,000 |
| 10. Behar, | 10,000,000 |
| 11. Málwā, | 10,000,000 |
| 12. Khāndesh, | 10,000,000 |
| 13. Oudh, | 7,500,000 |
| 14. Telingāna, | 7,500,000 |
| 15. Múltān, | 7,000,000 |
| 16. Orissa, | 5,000,000 |
| 17. Tatta (Sind), | 2,000,000 |
| 18. Baglānah, | 500,000 |

| | |
|------------------------|-------------|
| Land Revenue of India, | 207,750,000 |
| 19. Kashmīr, | 3,750,000 |
| 20. Kábul, | 4,000,000 |
| 21. Balkh, | 2,000,000 |
| 22. Kandahár, | 1,500,000 |
| 23. Badakhshan, | 1,000,000 |

Total Rs. 220,000,000

Aurangzeb's usurpation, 1658. AURANGZEB proclaimed himself Emperor in 1658, in the room of his imprisoned father, with the title of Alamgír, the Conqueror of the Universe, and reigned until 1707. Under Aurangzeb, the Mughal Empire reached its widest limits.¹ But his long rule of forty-nine years merely presents on a more magnificent stage the old unhappy type of a Mughal reign. In its personal character, it commenced with his rebellion against his father; consolidated itself by the murder of his brethren; and darkened to a close amid the mutinies, intrigues, and gloomy jealousies of his own sons. Its public aspects consisted of a magnificent court in Northern India; conquests of the independent Muhammadan kings in the south; and wars against the Hindu powers, which, alike in Rájputána and the Deccan, were gathering strength for the overthrow of the Mughal Empire.

His reign,
1658-1707.

The chief events of the reign of Aurangzeb are summarized below.² The year after his accession, he defeated and put to death his eldest brother, the noble but impetuous Dará

¹ Materials for Aurangzeb's reign: Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. vii. and viii.; Elphinstone, pp. 598-673.

² REIGN OF AURANGZEB, 1658-1707:—

- 1658. Deposition of Sháh Jahán, and usurpation of Aurangzeb.
- 1659. Aurangzeb defeats his brothers Shujá and Dará. Dará, his flight being betrayed by a chief with whom he sought refuge, is put to death by order of Aurangzeb.
- 1660. Continued struggle of Aurangzeb with his brother Shujá, who ultimately fled to Arakan, and there perished miserably.
- 1661. Aurangzeb executes his youngest brother, Murád, in prison.
- 1662. Unsuccessful invasion of Assam by Aurangzeb's general Mir Jumlá. Disturbances in the Deccan. War between Bijápur and the Maráthás under Sivají. After various changes of fortune, Sivají, the founder of the Maráthá power, retains a considerable territory.
- 1662-1665. Sivají in rebellion against the Mughal Empire. In 1664 he assumed the title of Rájá, and asserted his independence; but in 1665, on a large army being sent against him, he made submission, and proceeded to Delhi, where he was placed under restraint, but soon afterwards escaped.
- 1666. Death of the deposed Emperor, Sháh Jahán. War in the Deccan, and defeat of the Mughals by the King of Bijápur.
- 1667. Sivají makes peace on favourable terms with Aurangzeb, and obtains an extension of territory. Sivají levies tribute from Bijápur and Golconda.
- 1670. Sivají ravages Khándesh and the Deccan, and there levies for the first time *chauth*, or a contribution of one-fourth of the revenue.
- 1672. Defeat of the Mughals by the Maráthá Sivají.
- 1677. Aurangzeb revives the *jazia* or poll-tax on non-Muhammadans.

[Footnote continued on next page.]

(1659). After another twelve months' struggle, he drove out of India his second brother, the self-indulgent Shujá, who perished miserably among the insolent savages of Arakan (1660-61).¹ His remaining brother, the brave young Murád, was executed in prison the following year (1661). Aurangzeb, having thus killed off his brethren, set up as an orthodox sovereign of the strictest sect of Islám; while his invalid father, Sháh Jahán, lingered on in prison, mourning over his murdered sons, until 1666, when he died.

Aurangzeb continued, as Emperor, that persistent policy of the subjugation of Southern India which he had so brilliantly commenced as the lieutenant of his father, Sháh Jahán. Of the five Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan, three, namely Bidar, and Ahmadnagar-with-Elichpur, had fallen to Aurangzeb's arms before his accession to the Delhi throne.² The two others, Bijápur and Golconda, struggled longer, but Aurangzeb was determined at any cost to annex them to the Mughal Empire. During the first half of his reign, or exactly twenty-five years, he waged war in the south by means of his generals (1658-83). A new Hindu power had arisen in the Deccan, the Maráthás.³ The task before Aurangzeb's armies was not only the old one of subduing the Muhammadan kingdoms of Bijápur and Golconda,

He murders his brothers.

Subjugation of Southern India.

Rise of the Maráthá power.

1679. Aurangzeb at war with the Rájputs. Rebellion of Prince Akbar, Aurangzeb's youngest son, who joins the Rájputs, but whose army deserts him. Prince Akbar is forced to fly to the Maráthás.

1681. Aurangzeb has to continue the war with the Rájputs.

[1672-1680. Maráthá progress in the Deccan. Sivají crowns himself an independent sovereign at Ráigarh in 1674. His wars with Bijápur and the Mughals. Sivají dies in 1680, and is succeeded by his son, Sambhají.]

1683. Aurangzeb invades the Deccan in person, at the head of his Grand Army.

1686-88. Aurangzeb conquers Bijápur and Golconda, and annexes them to the Empire (1688).

1689. Aurangzeb captures Sambhají, and barbarously puts him to death.

1692. Guerilla war with the Maráthás under independent leaders.

1698. Aurangzeb captures Jinjí from the Maráthás.

1699-1701. The Maráthá war. Capture of Sátára and Maráthá forts by the Mughals under Aurangzeb. Apparent ruin of Maráthás.

1702-05. Successes of the Maráthás.

1706. Aurangzeb retreats to Ahmadnagar, and

1707. Miserably dies there (February).

¹ See article AKYAB, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² The five kingdoms have been described in chapter x.

³ For the rise and history of the Maráthás, see next chapter, xii.

but also of crushing the quick growth of the Maráthá confederacy.

Sivají
crowns
himself.

During a quarter of a century his efforts failed. Bijápur and Golconda were not conquered. In 1670, the Maráthá leader, Sivají, levied *chauth*, or one-fourth of the revenues, as tribute from the Mughal Provinces in Southern India; and in 1674, enthroned himself an independent sovereign at Raigarh. In 1680-81, Aurangzeb's rebel son, Prince Akbar, gave the prestige of his presence to the Maráthá army. Aurangzeb felt that he must either give up his magnificent life in the north for a soldier's lot in the Deccan, or he must relinquish his most cherished scheme of conquering Southern India. He accordingly prepared an expedition on an unrivalled scale of numbers and splendour, to be led by himself. In 1683 he arrived at the head of his Grand Army in the Deccan, and spent the next half of his reign, or twenty-four years, in the field. Golconda and Bijápur fell after another long struggle, and were finally annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1688.

Aurang-
zeb's
southern
campaign,
1683-1707.

His 20
years'
Maráthá
war,
1688-1707.

But the conquests of these two last of the five Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan only left the arena bare for the Maráthás. Indeed, the attacks of the Maráthás on the two Muhammadan States had prepared the way for the annexation of those States by Aurangzeb. The Emperor waged war during the remaining twenty years of his life (1688-1707) against the rising Hindu power of the Maráthás. Their first great leader, Sivají, had proclaimed himself king in 1674, and died in 1680. Aurangzeb captured his son and successor Sambhají in 1689, and cruelly put him to death; seized the Maráthá capital, with many of their forts, and seemed in the first year of the new century to have almost stamped out their existence (1701). But after a guerilla warfare, the Maráthás again sprang up into a vast fighting nation. In 1705 they recovered their forts; while Aurangzeb had exhausted his health, his treasures, and his troops, in the long and fruitless struggle. His soldiery murmured for arrears; and the Emperor, now old and peevish, told the malcontents that if they did not like his service they might quit it, while he disbanded some of his cavalry to ease his finances.

His
'Grand
Army'
worn out,
1705.

Aurangzeb
hemmed
in.

Meanwhile the Maráthás were pressing hungrily on the imperial camp. The Grand Army of Aurangzeb had grown during a quarter of a century into an unwieldy capital. Its movements were slow, and incapable of concealment. If Aurangzeb sent out a rapid small expedition against the Maráthás who plundered and insulted the outskirts of his camp,

they cut it to pieces. If he moved out against them in force, they vanished. His own soldiery feasted with the enemy, who prayed with mock ejaculations for the health of the Emperor as their best friend. In 1706, the Grand Army was so disorganized that Aurangzeb opened negotiations with the Maráthás. He even thought of submitting the Mughal Provinces to their tribute or *chauth*. But their insolent exultation broke off the treaty, and the despairing Aurangzeb, in 1706, sought shelter in Ahmadnagar, where he died the next year. Dark suspicion of his sons' loyalty, and just fears lest they should subject him to the fate which he had inflicted on his own father, left him alone in his last days. On the approach of death, he gave utterance in broken sentences to his worldly counsels and adieus, mingled with terror and remorse, and closing in an agony of desperate resignation: 'Come what may, I have launched my vessel on the waves. Farewell! Farewell! Farewell!' ^{It is despair, 1706.}

The conquest of Southern India was the one inflexible purpose of Aurangzeb's life, and has therefore been dealt with here in a continuous narrative. In the north of India, great events had also transpired. Mír Jumlá led the imperial troops as far as Assam, the extreme eastern Province of India (1662). But amid the pestilential swamps of the rainy season, the army melted away, its supplies were cut off, and its march was harassed by swarms of natives who knew the country and defied the climate. Mír Jumlá succeeded in extricating the main body of his troops, but died of exhaustion and a broken heart before he reached Dacca. ^{Mír Jumlá's expedition to Assam, 1662.}

In the west of India, Aurangzeb was not more fortunate. During his time the Sikhs were growing into a power, but it was not till the succeeding reigns that they commenced the series of operations which in the end wrested the Punjab from the Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb's bigotry arrayed against him the Hindu princes and peoples of Northern India. He revived the *jazia* or insulting poll-tax on non-Musalmáns (1677), drove the Hindus out of the administration, and oppressed the widow and children of his father's faithful Hindu general Jaswant Singh. A local sect of Hindus was forced into rebellion in 1676; and in 1677, the Rájput States combined against him. The Emperor waged a protracted war ^{Aurangzeb's bigoted policy. Oppresses the Hindus. The Rájputs revolt,}

¹ Aurangzeb's *Letters* form a popular Persian book in India to this day. His counsels to his sons are edifying and most pathetic; and the whole work is written in a deeply religious tone, which could scarcely have been assumed.

and cannot be subdued.

Aurangzeb's revenues.

The land revenue, 30 to 38 millions.

Maximum Mughal land-tax.

against them ; at one time devastating Rájputána, at another time saving himself and his army from extermination only by a stroke of genius and rare presence of mind. In 1679, his son, Prince Akbar, rebelled and joined the Rájputs with his division of the Mughal army. From that year, the permanent alienation of the Rájputs from the Mughal Empire dates ; and the Hindu chivalry, which had been a source of strength to Akbar the Great, became an element of ruin to Aurangzeb and his successors. The Emperor sacked and slaughtered throughout the Rájput States of Jaipur, Jodhpur, and Udaipur. The Rájputs retaliated by ravaging the Muhammadan Provinces of Málwá, defacing the mosques, insulting the ministers of Islám, and burning the Kurán. In 1681, the Emperor patched up a peace in order to allow him to lead the Grand Army into the Deccan, from which he was destined never to return.

All Northern India except Assam, and the greater part of Southern India, paid revenue to Aurangzeb. His Indian Provinces covered nearly as large an area as the British Empire at the present day, although their dependence on the central Government was less direct. From these Provinces his net land-revenue demand is returned at 30 to 38 millions sterling ; a sum which represented at least three times the purchasing power of the land revenue of British India at the present day. But it is doubtful whether the enormous demand of 38 millions was fully realized during any series of years, even at the height of Aurangzeb's power before he left Delhi for his long southern wars. It was estimated at only 30 millions in the last year of his reign, after his absence of a quarter of a century in the Deccan. Fiscal oppressions led to evasions and revolts, while some or other of the Provinces were always in open war against the Emperor.

The following statements exhibit the Mughal Empire in its final development, just before it began to break up. The standard return of Aurangzeb's land revenue was *net* £34,505,890 ; and this remained the nominal demand in the accounts of the central exchequer during the next half-century, notwithstanding that the Empire had fallen to pieces. When the Afghán invader, Ahmad Sháh Durání, entered Delhi in 1761, the treasury officers presented him with a statement showing the land revenue of the Empire at £34,506,640. The highest land revenue of Aurangzeb, after his annexations in Southern India, and before his final reverses, was 38½ millions sterling ;

of which close on 38 millions were from Indian Provinces.¹ The total revenue of Aurangzeb was estimated in 1695 at 80 millions, and in 1697 at 77½ millions sterling.² The gross taxation levied from British India, deducting the opium excise, which is paid by the Chinese consumer, averaged 35½ millions sterling during the ten years ending 1879; and 40¾ millions from 1879 to 1883. The table on a previous page, showing the growth of the revenues of the Mughal Empire from Akbar to Aurangzeb, may be contrasted with the taxation of British India, as given in chapter xv.

¹ PROVINCES OF THE DELHI EMPIRE UNDER AURANGZEB.

LAND REVENUE OF AURANGZEB
IN 1697 (according to Manucci).

| | Rupees. |
|---------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Delhi, . . . | 12,550,000 |
| 2. Agra, . . . | 22,203,550 |
| 3. Lahore, . . . | 23,305,000 |
| 4. Ajmere, . . . | 21,900,002 |
| 5. Gujarát, . . . | 23,395,000 |
| 6. Málwá, . . . | 9,906,250 |
| 7. Behar, . . . | 12,150,000 |
| 8. Múltán, . . . | 5,025,000 |
| 9. Tatta (Sind), . . . | 6,002,000 |
| 10. Bakar, . . . | 2,400,000 |
| 11. Orissa, . . . | 5,707,500 |
| 12. Allahábád, . . . | 7,738,000 |
| 13. Deccan, . . . | 16,204,750 |
| 14. Berar, . . . | 15,807,500 |
| 15. Khándesh, . . . | 11,105,000 |
| 16. Baglana, . . . | 6,885,000 |
| 17. Nande (Nandan), . . . | 7,200,000 |
| 18. Bengal, . . . | 40,000,000 |
| 19. Ujjain, . . . | 20,000,000 |
| 20. Rájmahál, . . . | 10,050,000 |
| 21. Bijápur, . . . | 50,000,000 |
| 22. Golconda, . . . | 50,000,000 |
| Total, . . . | 379,534,552 |
| 23. Kashmír, . . . | 3,505,000 |
| 24. Kábul, . . . | 3,207,250 |

Grand Total, . . . 386,246,802
or £38,624,680

LAND REVENUE OF AURANGZEB
in 1707 (according to Ramusio).

| | Rupees. |
|-----------------------|-------------|
| 1. Delhi, . . . | 30,548,753 |
| 2. Agra, . . . | 28,669,003 |
| 3. Ajmere, . . . | 16,308,634 |
| 4. Allahábád, . . . | 11,413,581 |
| 5. Punjab, . . . | 20,653,302 |
| 6. Oudh, . . . | 8,058,195 |
| 7. Múltán, . . . | 5,361,073 |
| 8. Gujarát, . . . | 15,196,228 |
| 9. Behar, . . . | 10,179,025 |
| 10. Sind, . . . | 2,295,420 |
| 11. Daulatábád, . . . | 25,873,627 |
| 12. Málwá, . . . | 10,097,541 |
| 13. Berar, . . . | 15,350,625 |
| 14. Khándesh, . . . | 11,215,750 |
| 15. Bídár, . . . | 9,324,359 |
| 16. Bengal, . . . | 13,115,906 |
| 17. Orissa, . . . | 3,570,500 |
| 18. Haidarábád, . . . | 27,834,000 |
| 19. Bijápur, . . . | 26,957,625 |
| Total, . . . | 292,023,147 |
| 20. Kashmír, . . . | 5,747,734 |
| 21. Kábul, . . . | 4,025,983 |

Grand Total, . . . 301,796,864
or £30,179,686

The above lists are taken from Mr. Edward Thomas' *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 46 and 50. The whole subject is admirably discussed in his chapter entitled 'Aurangzeb's Revenues,' pp. 33 *et seq.* The four returns of the land revenue for his reign are, *net*, 24 millions in 1655; 34½ millions in later official documents; 38½ millions in 1697; * 30 millions in 1707.

² Mr. Edward Thomas' *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, p. 54, etc. (1871).

Character of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb tried to live the life of a model Muhammadan Emperor. Magnificent in his public appearances, simple in his private habits, diligent in business, exact in his religious observances, an elegant letter-writer, and ever ready with choice passages alike from the poets and the Kurán, his life would have been a blameless one, if he had had no father to depose, no brethren to murder, and no Hindu subjects to oppress. But his bigotry made an enemy of every one who did not share his own faith; and the slaughter of his kindred compelled him to entrust his government to strangers. The Hindus never forgave him; and the Sikhs, the Rájputs, and the Maráthás, immediately after his reign, began to close in upon the Empire. His Muhammadan generals and viceroys, as a rule, served him well during his vigorous life. But at his death they usurped his children's inheritance. The succeeding Emperors were puppets in the hands of the too powerful soldiers or statesmen who raised them to the throne, controlled them while on it, and killed them when it suited their purposes to do so. The subsequent history of the Empire is a mere record of ruin. The chief events in its decline and fall are summarized below.¹

Decline of the Mughal Empire.

¹ THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE,

From death of Aurangzeb to that of Muhammad Bahádúr Sháh, 1707-1862.

1707. Succession contest between Muázim and Alam, two sons of Aurangzeb; victory of the former, and his accession under the title of Bahádúr Sháh; controlled by the General Zul-fikar Khán. Revolt of Prince Kambaksh; his defeat and death.

1710. Expedition against the Sikhs.

1712. Death of Bahádúr Sháh, and accession of his eldest son, Jahándár Sháh, after a struggle for the succession; an incapable monarch, who only ruled through his *wazír*, Zul-fikar Khán. Revolt of his nephew, Farukhsiyyar; defeat of the Imperial army, and execution of the Emperor and his prime minister.

1713. Accession of Farukhsiyyar, under the auspices and control of Husáin Alí, Governor of Behar, and Abdullá, Governor of Allahábád.

1716. Invasion by the Sikhs; their defeat, and cruel persecution.

1719. Deposition and murder of Farukhsiyyar by the Sayyid chiefs Husain Alí and Abdullá. They nominate in succession three boy Emperors, the first two of whom died within a few months after their accession. The third, Muhammad Sháh, commenced his reign in September 1719.

1720. Murder of Husain Alí, and overthrow of the Sayyid 'king-makers.'

1720-48. The Governor of the Deccan, or Nizám-ul-Mulkh, establishes his independence, and severs the Haidarábád Provinces from the Mughal Empire.

1732-43. The Governor of Oudh, who was also *Wazír* of the Empire, becomes practically independent of Delhi.

[Footnote continued on next page.]

For a time, Mughal Emperors still ruled India from Delhi. But of the six immediate successors of Aurangzeb, two were under the control of an unscrupulous general, Zul-fikár Khán,¹ while the four others were the creatures of a couple of Sayyid adventurers who well earned their title of the 'king-makers.' From the year 1720, the breaking up of the Empire took a more open form. The Nizám-ul-Mulkh, or Governor of the

The six
'Puppet'
kings.

1735-51. General decline of the Empire; revolts within, and invasion of Nádír Sháh from Persia (1739). The Maráthás obtain Málwá (1743), followed by the cession of Southern Oíssa and tribute from Bengal (1751). First invasion of India by Ahmad Sháh Durání, who had obtained the throne of Kandahár (1747); his defeat in Sirhind (1748).

1748. Death of Muhammad Sháh.

1748-50. Accession of Ahmad Sháh, his son; disturbances by the Rohillá Afgháns in Oudh, and defeat of the Imperial troops.

1751. The Rohillá insurrection crushed with the aid of the Maráthás.

1751-52. Second invasion of India by Ahmad Sháh Durání, and cession of the Punjab to him.

1754. Deposition of the Emperor, and accession of Alamgir II.

1756. Third invasion of India by Ahmad Sháh Durání, and sack of Delhi.

1759-61. Fourth invasion of India by Ahmad Sháh Durání, and murder of the Emperor Alamgir II. by his *wazír*, Gházi-ud-dín. The Maráthá conquists in Northern India. The Maráthás complete their organization for the conquest of Hindustán; capture of Delhi.

1761-1805. The third battle of Pánipat, between the Afgháns under Ahmad Sháh and the Maráthás; defeat of the latter. From this time the Mughal Empire ceased to exist, except in name. The victory of Baxar, gained by Major Munro, breaks the Mughal power in Bengal. The Diwání, or administration, of Bengal, Behar, and Oíssa is granted by the Emperor to the British in 1765. The nominal Emperor on the death of Alamgir II. was Sháh Alam II., an exile, who resided till 1771 in Allahábád, a pensioner of the British. In 1771 he threw in his fortunes with the Maráthás, who restored him to a fragment of his hereditary dominions. The Emperor was blinded and imprisoned by rebels. He was afterwards rescued by the Maráthás, but was virtually a prisoner in their hands till 1803, when the Maráthá power was overthrown by Lord Lake. Sháh Alam died in 1806, and was succeeded by his son,

1806-1837. Akbar II., who succeeded only to the nominal dignity, and lived till 1837; when he was followed by

1837-62. Muhammad Bahádur Sháh, the seventeenth Mughal Emperor, and last of the race of Timúr. For his complicity in the Mutiny of 1857 he was deposed and banished for life to Rangoon, where he died, a British State prisoner, in 1862. Two of his sons and grandson were shot by Hodson in 1857, to prevent a rescue, and for their participation in the murder of English women and children at Delhi.

¹ Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. vii. pp. 348-558 (Trubner, 1877).

Independence of the Deccan, 1720-48; of Oudh, 1732-43. Deccan,¹ established his independence, and severed the largest part of Southern India from the Delhi rule (1720-48). The Governor of Oudh,² originally a Persian merchant, who had risen to the post of Wazír or Prime Minister of the Empire, established his own dynasty in the Provinces which had been committed to his care (1732-43).

Hindu risings. The Hindu subjects of the Empire were at the same time establishing their independence. The Sikh sect in the Punjab, driven by oppression into revolt, had been mercilessly crushed in 1710-16. The indelible memory of the cruelties then inflicted by the Mughal troops nerved the Sikh nation with that hatred to Delhi which served the British cause so well in 1857. In 1716, the Sikh leader, Banda, was carried about by the insulting Mughals in an iron cage, tricked out in the mockery of imperial robes, with scarlet turban and cloth of gold. His son's heart was torn out before his eyes, and thrown in his face. He himself was then pulled to pieces with red-hot pincers, and the Sikhs were exterminated like mad dogs (1716). The Hindu princes of Rájputána were more fortunate. Ajít Singh of Jodhpur asserted his independence, and Rájputána practically severed its connection with the Mughal Empire in 1715. The Maráthás having enforced their claim to black-mail (*chauth*) throughout Southern India, burst through the Vindhyas upon the north, obtained the cession of Málwá (1743) and Orissa (1751), with an Imperial grant for tribute from Bengal (1751). But the great Hindu military revival represented by the Maráthá power demands a separate section for itself, and will be narrated in the next chapter.

Rájput independence, 1715.
The Maráthá *chauth*, 1751.

Invasions from the north-west, 1739-61. While the Muhammadan governors and Hindu subjects of the Empire were thus asserting their independence, two new sets of external enemies appeared. The first of these consisted of invasions from the north-west. In 1739, Nádir Sháh, the Persian, swept down with his destroying host, and, after a massacre in the streets of Delhi and a fifty-eight days' sack, went off with a booty estimated at 32 millions sterling.³ Six times the Afgháns burst through the passes under Ahmad Sháh Durání, plundering, slaughtering, and then scornfully retiring to their homes with the plunder of the Empire. In 1738, Kábul, the last Afghán Province of the Mughals, had been severed from Delhi; and in 1752, Ahmad Sháh the Afghán obtained the

¹ Chin Khilich Khán or Azaf Sháh, a Túrkomán Sunní.

² Saádat Alí Khán, a Persian Shiah.

³ Mill's *History of British India*, vol. ii. p. 456 (Wilson's edition, 1840).

cession of the Punjab. The cruelties inflicted upon Delhi and Northern India during these six invasions form an appalling tale of bloodshed and wanton cruelty. The miserable capital opened her gates, and was fain to receive the Afgháns as guests. Yet on one occasion it suffered for six weeks every enormity which a barbarian army can inflict upon a prostrate foe. Meanwhile the Afghán cavalry were scouring the county, slaying, burning, and mutilating in the meanest hamlet as in the greatest town. They took especial delight in sacking the holy places of the Hindus, and murdering the defenceless votaries at the shrines.

Ahmad Sháh,
1748-61.
Afghán invasion,
1747-61.

A horde of 25,000 Afghán horsemen swooped down upon the sacred city of Muttra during a festival, while it was thronged with peaceful Hindu pilgrims engaged in their devotions. 'They burned the houses,' says the Tyrolese Jesuit Tieffenthaler, who was in India at that time, 'together with their inmates, slaughtering others with the sword and the lance; hauling off into captivity maidens and youths, men and women. In the temples they slaughtered cows,' the sacred animal of the Hindus, 'and smeared the images and pavement with the blood.' The border-land between Afghánistán and India lay silent and waste; indeed, districts far within the frontier, which had once been densely inhabited, and which are now again thickly peopled, were swept bare of inhabitants.

Misery of the
Provinces,
1747-61.

Afghán
atrocities.

Another set of invaders came from the sea. In the wars between the French and English in Southern India, the last vestiges of the Delhi authority in the Madras Presidency disappeared (1748-61). The victory of Baxar, gained by Major Munro in 1764, broke the Mughal power in Northern India,

Invaders
from the
sea.

and drove the Emperor himself to seek shelter in our camp. Bengal, Behar, and Orissa were handed over to the English by an imperial grant in 1765. We technically obtained these fertile Provinces as the nominee of the Emperor; but the third battle of Pá ní pat had four years previously reduced the throne of Delhi to a shadow. The third battle of Pá ní pat was fought in 1761, between the Afghán invader Ahmad Sháh and the Maráthá powers, on the memorable plain on which Bábar in 1526, and Akbar in 1556, had twice won the sovereignty of India.

Fall of the
Empire.

Battle of
Pá ní pat,
1761.

That sovereignty was now, after little more than two centuries of Mughal rule, lost for ever by their degenerate descendants. The Afgháns defeated the Maráthás at Pá ní pat in 1761; and during the anarchy which followed, the British patiently built up a new power out of the wreck of the Mughal Empire.

Mughal pensioners and imperial puppets reigned still at Delhi over a numerous seraglio under such lofty titles as Akbar II. or Alamgír (Aurangzeb) II. But their power was confined to the palace, while Maráthás, Sikhs, and Englishmen struggled for the sovereignty of India. The last nominal Emperor emerged for a moment as a rebel during the Mutiny of 1857, and died a State prisoner in Rangoon in 1862.

Last of the
Mughals,
1862.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MARATHA POWER (1634 TO 1818 A.D.).

THE British won India, not from the Mughals, but from the British Hindus. Before we appeared as conquerors, the Mughal India won, not from the Empire had broken up. Our conclusive wars were neither with the the Delhi King, nor with his revolted governors, but with the Mughals, but from the two Hindu confederacies, the Maráthás and the Sikhs. Our the last Maráthá war dates as late as 1818, and the Sikh Confedera- Hindus. tion was not finally overcome until 1849.

About the year 1634, a Maráthá soldier of fortune, SHAJJI BHONSLA by name, began to play a conspicuous part in Southern India.¹ He fought on the side of the two independent Sháhji Bhonsla, Muhammadan States, Ahmadnagar and Bijápur, against the 1634. Mughals; and left a band of followers, together with a military Shivaji. fief, to his son Sivají, born in 1627.² Sivají formed a national party out of the Hindu tribes of Southern India, as opposed alike to the imperial armies from the north, and to the independent Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan. There were thus, from 1650 onwards, three powers in the Deccan:

¹ The original authorities for the Maráthá history are—(1) James Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, 3 vols. (Bombay reprint, 1863); (2) Edward Scott Waring's *History of the Maráthás* (quarto, 1810); (3) Major William Thorne's *Memoir of the War in India conducted by General Lord Lake* (quarto, 1818); (4) Sidney J. Owen's *Selections from the Despatches of the Marquis of Wellesley* (1877); (5) his *Selections from the Indian Despatches of the Duke of Wellington* (1880); and (6) Henry T. Prinsep's *Narrative of Political and Military Transactions of British India under the Marquis of Hastings* (quarto, 1820). The very brief notice of the Maráthás which the scope of the present work allows, precludes an exhaustive use of these storehouses. But it should be mentioned that the later history of the Maráthás (since 1819) has yet to be written. The leading incidents of that history are described in separate articles in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. To save space, this chapter confines itself, as far as practicable, to referring in footnotes to those articles. Ample materials will be found in the *Gazetteers of the Bombay Districts and Central Provinces*.

² Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, vol. i. p. 90 (ed. 1863).

Three parties in the Deccan, 1650. first, the ever-invading troops of the Delhi Empire; second, the forces of the two remaining independent Muhammadan States of Southern India, namely, Ahmadnagar and Bijápur; third, the military organization of the local Hindu tribes, which ultimately grew into the Maráthá confederacy.

Strength of the Hindu or third party. During the eighty years' war of Sháh Jahán and Aurangzeb, with a view to the conquest of Southern India (1627-1707), the third or Hindu party fought from time to time on either side, and obtained a constantly-increasing importance. The Mughal armies from the north, and the independent Muhammadan kingdoms of the south, gradually exterminated each other. Being foreigners, they had to recruit their exhausted forces chiefly from outside. The Hindu confederacy drew its inexhaustible native levies from the wide tract known as Maháráshtra, stretching from the Berars in Central India to

Courted by the other two. near the south of the Bombay Presidency. The Maráthás were therefore courted alike by the Imperial generals and by the independent Muhammadan sovereigns of the Deccan. With true Hindu statecraft, their leader, Sivají, from time to time aided the independent Musalmán kingdoms of the Deccan against the Mughal avalanche from the north. Those kingdoms, with the help of the Maráthás, long proved a match for the imperial troops. But no sooner were the Delhi armies driven back, than the Maráthás proceeded to despoil the independent Musalmán kingdoms. On the other hand, the Delhi generals, when allied with the Maráthás, could completely overpower the independent Muhammadan States.

Sivají, born 1627, died 1680. SIVAJI saw the strength of his position, and, by a course of treachery, assassination, and hard fighting, won for the Maráthás the practical supremacy in Southern India.¹ As a

His hill forts. basis for his operations, he perched himself safe in a number of impregnable hill forts in the Bombay Presidency. His troops consisted of Hindu spearmen, mounted on hardy

His army of horsemen. ponies. They were the peasant proprietors of Southern India, and could be dispersed or called together on a moment's notice, at the proper seasons of the agricultural year. Sivají had therefore the command of an unlimited body of troops, without the expense of a standing army. With these he swooped down upon his enemies, exacted tribute, or forced them to come to terms. He then paid off his soldiery by a part of the plunder; and while they returned to the sowing or

Histactics.

¹ The career of Sivají is traced in Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, vol. i. pp. 90-220. The Bombay reprint of Grant Duff's *History*, in three volumes, 1863, is invariably referred to in this chapter.

reaping of their fields, he retreated with the lion's share to his hill forts. In 1659 he lured the Bijápur general into an ambush, stabbed him at a friendly conference, and exterminated his army. In 1662-64, Sivají raided as far as the extreme north of the Bombay Presidency, and sacked the Imperial city of Surat. In 1664 he assumed the title of king (Rájá), with the royal prerogative of coining money in his own name.¹ Coins money.

The year 1665 found Sivají helping the Mughal armies against the independent Musalmán State of Bijápur. In 1666 he was induced to visit Delhi. Being coldly received by the Emperor Aurangzeb, and placed under restraint, he escaped to the south, and raised the standard of revolt.² In 1674, Sivají enthroned himself with great pomp at Ráigarh, weighing himself in a balance against gold, and distributing the precious counterpoise among his Bráhmans.³ After sending forth his hosts as far as the Karnátik in 1676, he died in 1680. Visits Delhi, 1666. Enthrones himself, 1674. Died, 1680.

The Emperor Aurangzeb would have done wisely to have left the independent Musalmán Kings of the Deccan alone, until he had crushed the rising Maráthá power. Indeed, a great statesman would have buried the old quarrel between the Muhammadans of the north and south, and united the whole forces of Islám against the Hindu confederacy which was rapidly organizing itself in the Deccan. But the fixed resolve of Aurangzeb's life was to annex to Delhi the Muhammadan kingdoms of Southern India. By the time he had carried out this scheme, he had wasted his armies, and left the Mughal Empire ready to break into pieces at the first touch of the Maráthás. Aurangzeb's mistaken policy, 1688-1707.

SAMBHAJI succeeded his father, Sivají, in 1680, and reigned till 1689.⁴ His life was entirely spent in wars with the Portuguese and Mughals. In 1689, Aurangzeb captured him. The Emperor burnt out his eyes with a red-hot iron, cut out the tongue which had blasphemed the Prophet, and struck off his head. Sambhaji, 1680-89.

His son, SAHU, then six years of age, was also captured and kept a prisoner till the death of Aurangzeb. In 1707 he was restored, on acknowledging allegiance to Delhi. But his long captivity among the Mughals left him only half a Maráthá.⁵ Sahu, 1707.

¹ Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, vol. i. p. 146.

² *Idem*, vol. i. chap. v. *ad finem*.

³ *Idem*, vol. i. pp. 191-193.

⁴ For the career of Sambhaji, see Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, vol. i. pp. 220-261.

⁵ The career of Sahu is traced in Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, vol. i. pp. 297-306.

He wasted his life in his seraglio, and resigned the rule of his territories to his Bráhmaṇ minister Bálají Vishwanáth, with the title of Peshwá.¹ This office became hereditary, and the power of the Peshwá superseded that of the Maráthá kings. The family of Sivají only retained the little principalities of Sátára and Kolhápúr. Sátára lapsed, for want of a direct heir, to the British in 1848. Kolhápúr has survived through their clemency, and was ruled, under their control, by the last adopted representative of Sivají's line² until 1883. On his death, in December 1883, another Maráthá youth of high family was placed by the British Government, in virtue of the adoption *sanad*, on the State cushion of Kolhápúr.

Meanwhile the PESHWAS were building up at Poona the great Maráthá confederacy. In 1718, Bálají, the first Peshwá, marched an army to Delhi in support of the Sayyid 'king-makers.'³ In 1720⁴ he extorted an Imperial grant of the *chauth* or 'one-fourth' of the revenues of the Deccan. The Maráthás were also confirmed in the sovereignty of the countries round Poona and Sátára. The second Peshwá, Bájí Ráo (1721-40), converted the tribute of the Deccan granted to his father into a practical sovereignty. In fifteen years he wrested the Province of Málwá from the Empire (1736), together with the country on the north-west of the Vindhya, from the Narbada to the Chambal.⁵ In 1739⁶ he captured Bassein from the Portuguese.

The third Peshwá, Bálají Bájí Ráo, succeeded in 1740, and carried the Maráthá terror into the heart of the Mughal Empire.⁷ The Deccan became merely a starting-point for a vast series of their expeditions to the north and the east. Within the Deccan itself he augmented his sovereignty, at the expense of the Nizám, after two wars. The great centres of the Maráthá power were now fixed at Poona in Bombay and Nágpúr in the Berars. In 1741-42, a general of the Berar branch of the Maráthás known as the Bhonslas, swept down upon Bengal; but, after plundering to the suburbs of the Muham-Tó Bengal, madan capital Murshidábád, he was driven back through Orissa 1742-51; by the Viceroy Alí Vardí Khán. The 'Maráthá Ditch,' or

¹ For Bálají's career, see Grant Duff's *Hist. of the Maráthás*, vol. i. pp. 307-339.

² See articles KOLHAPUR and SATARA, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

³ *Vide ante*, p. 313.

⁴ Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, vol. i. pp. 324, 325.

⁵ Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, vol. i. pp. 393-395.

⁶ For Bájí Ráo's career, see *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 344-410.

⁷ His career is sketched in *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 1-115.

semicircular moat around part of Calcutta, records to this day the panic which then spread throughout Bengal. Next year, 1743, the head of the Berar Maráthás, Raghuji Bhonsla, himself invaded Bengal in force. From this date, in spite of quarrels between the Poona and Berar Maráthás over the spoil, the fertile Provinces of the Lower Ganges became a plundering ground of the Bhonslas. In 1751 they obtained a formal grant from the Viceroy Alí Vardí of the *chauth* or 'quarter-revenue' of Bengal, together with the cession of Orissa. In Northern India, the Poona Maráthás raided as far as the Punjab, and drew down upon them the wrath of Ahmad Sháh, the Afghán, who had wrested that Province from Delhi. At the third battle of Pánípat, the Maráthás were overthrown, by the combined Muhammadan forces of the Afgháns and of the Provinces still nominally remaining to the Mughal Empire (1761).

To the Punjab,
1760.

Pánípat,
1761.

The fourth Peshwá, Madhu Ráo, succeeded to the Maráthá sovereignty in this moment of ruin.¹ The Hindu confederacy seemed doomed to destruction, alike by internal treachery and by the superior force of the Afghán arms. As early as 1742, the Poona and Berar branches had taken the field against each other, in their quarrels over the plunder of Bengal. Before 1761, two other branches, under Holkar and Sindhia, had set up for themselves in the old Mughal Province of Málwá and the neighbouring tracts, now divided between the States of Indore and Gwalior. At Pánípat, Holkar, the head of the Indore branch, deserted the Hindu line of battle when he saw the tide turn, and his treachery rendered the Maráthá rout complete. The fourth Peshwá was little more than the nominal centre of the five great Maráthá branches, with their respective head-quarters at Poona, the seat of the Peshwás; at Nágpur, the capital of the Bhonslas, in Berar; at Gwalior, the residence of Sindhia; at Indore, the capital of Holkar; and at Baroda, the seat of the rising power of the Gáekwárs. Madhu Ráo, the fourth Peshwá, just managed to hold his own against the Muhammadan princes of Haidarábád and Mysore, and against the Bhonsla branch of the Maráthás in Berar. His younger brother, Náráyan Ráo, succeeded him as fifth Peshwá in 1772, but was quickly assassinated.²

Fourth Peshwá,
1761-72.

The five Maráthá branches.

Fifth Peshwá,
1772.

From this time the Peshwá's power at Poona begins to recede, as that of his nominal masters, the lineal descendants

Decline of the Peshwás,
1772-1818.

¹ For his career, see Grant Duff's *Hist. of the Maráthás*, vol. ii. pp. 115-172.

² Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, vol. ii. pp. 174-178.

of Sivají, had faded out of sight at Sátára and Kolhápur. The Peshwás came of a high Bráhmaṇ lineage, while the actual fighting force of the Maráthás consisted of low-caste Hindus. It thus happened that each Maráthá general who rose to independent territorial sway, was inferior in caste, although possessed of more real power than the Peshwá, the titular head of the confederacy. Of the two great northern houses, Holkar was descended from a shepherd,¹ and Sindhia from a slipper-bearer.² These potentates lay quiet for a time after their crushing disaster at Pániṣat. But within ten years of that fatal field, they had finally established themselves throughout Málwá, and invaded the Rájput, Ját, and Rohillá Provinces, from the Punjab on the west to Oudh on the east (1761-71). In 1765, the titular Emperor, Sháh Alam, had sunk into a British pensioner after his defeat at Baxar. In 1771 he made overtures to the Maráthás. Holkar and Sindhia nominally restored him to his throne at Delhi, but held him a virtual prisoner till 1803-04, when they were overthrown by our second Maráthá war.

Progress
of the
northern
Maráthás.

Sindhia
and
Holkar,
1761-1803.

The
Bhonslas
of Berar,
1751-1853.

The third of the northern Maráthá houses, namely, the Bhonslas of Berar and the Central Provinces, occupied themselves with raids to the east. Operating from their basis at Nágpur,³ they had extorted, by 1751, the *chauth* or 'quarter-revenue' of Bengal, together with the sovereignty of Orissa. The accession of the British in Bengal (1756-65) put a stop to their raids in that Province. In 1803, a division of our army drove them out of Orissa. In 1817, their power was finally broken by our last Maráthá war. Their head-quarter territories, now forming the Central Provinces,⁴ were administered under the guidance of British Residents from 1817 to 1853. On the death of the last Raghují Bhonsla, without issue, in 1853, Nágpur lapsed to the British.

The
Gáekwárs
of Baroda.

The fourth of the northern Maráthá houses, namely, Baroda,⁵ extended its power throughout Gujarát, on the north-western coast of Bombay, and the adjacent peninsula of Káthiáwár. The scattered but wealthy dominions known as the Territories of the Gáekwár were thus formed. Since our last Maráthá war, in 1817, Baroda has been ruled by the Gáekwár, with the help of a British Resident and a

¹ See article INDORE, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² See article GWALIOR, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

³ See article NAGPUR, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

⁴ See article CENTRAL PROVINCES, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

⁵ See article BARODA, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

subsidiary force. In 1874, the reigning Gáekwár, having attempted to poison the Resident, was tried by a High Commission consisting of three European and three native members, found guilty, and deposed. But the British Government refrained from annexing the State, and raised a descendant of the founder of the family from poverty to the State cushion.

While these four northern houses of the Maráthás were pursuing their separate careers, the Peshwá's power was being broken to pieces by family intrigues. The sixth Peshwá, Madhu Ráo Náráyan, was born after his father's death, and during his short life of twenty-one years the power remained in the hands of his minister, Náná Farnavis. Raghubá, the uncle of the late Peshwá, disputed the birth of the posthumous child, and claimed for himself the office of Peshwá. The infant's guardian, Náná Farnavis, having invoked the aid of the French, the British sided with Raghubá. These alliances brought on the first Maráthá war (1779-81), ending with the treaty of Salbái (1782). That treaty ceded the islands of Salsette and Elephanta with two others to the British, secured to Raghubá a handsome pension, and confirmed the child-Peshwá in his sovereignty. The latter, however, only reached manhood to commit suicide at the age of twenty-one.

His cousin, Báji Ráo II., succeeded him in 1795 as the seventh and last Peshwá. The northern Maráthá house of Holkar now took the lead among the Maráthás, and forced the Peshwá into the arms of the English. By the treaty of Bassein in 1802, the Peshwá agreed to receive and pay for a British force to maintain him in his dominions. The northern Maráthá houses combined to break down this treaty. The second Maráthá war followed (1803-04). General Wellesley crushed the forces of the Sindhia and Nágpur houses on the great fields of Assaye and Argaum in the south, while Lord Lake disposed of the Maráthá armies at Laswári and Delhi in the north. In 1804, Holkar was completely defeated at Díg. These campaigns led to large cessions of territory to the British, the overthrow of the French influence in India, and the replacement of the titular Delhi Emperor under the protection of the English. In 1817-18, the Peshwá, Holkar, and the Bhonsla Maráthás at Nágpur took up arms, each on his own account, against the British, and were defeated in detail. That war finally broke the Maráthá power. The Peshwá, Báji Ráo, surrendered to the British, and his territories

Batoda in
1874-

Sixth
Peshwá,
1774-95.

First Mar-
áthá war,
1779-81.

Seventh
and last
Peshwá,
1795-1818.

Second
Maráthá
war,
1803-04.

Last Mar-
áthá war,
1817-18.

were annexed to our Bombay Presidency.¹ The Peshwá remained a British pensioner at Bithúr, near Cawnpore, on a magnificent allowance, till his death. His adopted son grew up into the infamous Náná Sáhib of the Mutiny of 1857, when the last relic of the Peshwás disappeared from the eyes of men.

End of the
Peshwás,
1849.

¹ For a summary of the events of this last Maráthá war, *vide post*, pp. 401, 402. Also Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, vol. iii. *passim*.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE INDIAN VERNACULARS AND THEIR LITERATURE.

THE foregoing chapters have summarized the successive settlements of Asiatic peoples in India. The remainder of this volume will deal with altogether different aspects of Indian history. For the three essential stages in that history are—

(1) first, the long struggle for India by the races of Asia; second, a shorter struggle for India by European nations; third, the consolidation of India under British rule. From the great contest of five thousand years, England emerged the victor. We have seen how the tidal waves of Asiatic populations—pre-Aryan, Aryan, Scythic, Afghán, and Mughal—swept across India from the north. The next chapter (xiv.) will exhibit the briefer, but not less eventful, efforts of the European maritime powers to enter India from the sea. The conquest of India by the British, and an account of the administration which they have established throughout its widely separated Provinces, will conclude this volume.

The three stages in Indian history:
(1) Struggle for India by the Asiatic races;
(2) by the European nations;
(3) Consolidation of India under British rule.

The inroads under Alexander the Great and his successors had proved momentary episodes,—episodes, moreover, of an Asiatic rather than of a European type. The Greek and Græco-Bactrian hosts entered India from the north; they effected no settlements beyond the frontier Province; and the permanent element in their forces consisted of Asiatic rather than of European troops. The civilisation and organization of India, from a prehistoric period many thousand years before Christ down to the 15th century A.D., had been essentially the work of Asiatic races. Since the end of that century, when the Portuguese landed on the Malabar coast, the course of Indian history has been profoundly influenced by European nations.

Greek inroads, temporary, and semi-Asiatic in type.

Before entering on this new period, therefore, it is desirable to obtain a clear idea of India, as moulded by the survival of the fittest among the Asiatic peoples who had struggled for the Indian supremacy during so many thousand years. The social constitution of the Indian races on the

Asiatic civilisation of India.

As found
by the
European
Powers.

twofold basis of religion and caste, has been fully explained. Their later political organization under the Afgháns, Mughals, and Maráthás, has been more briefly summarized. It remains, however, to exhibit the geographical distribution of the Indian races, and the local landmarks, literatures, and languages, which the Europeans found on their arrival in India.

India in
the 1st
century
A.D.

Before the beginning of the Christian era, Northern India was partitioned out among civilised communities in which the Aryan element prevailed, while the southern peninsula was covered with forests, and dotted with the settlements of non-Aryan peoples. The Northern Aryans had a highly developed literary language, Sanskrit. They spoke less artificial cognate dialects, called Prákrits, which (equally with the Sanskrit) had grown out of the primitive Indo-Germanic tongue. The non-Aryans of Southern India at that period knew nothing of the philosophy or sciences which flourished in the north. They had not even a grammatical settlement of the principles of their own language; and they used vernaculars so uncouth as to earn for them, from the civilised Aryans, the name of Mlechchhas, meaning the people of imperfect utterance or broken speech.¹

India in
the 16th
century
A.D.

When the European nations arrived in India during the 16th and 17th centuries, all this had changed. The stately Sanskrit of the Northern Aryans had sunk into a dead language, still used as a literary vehicle by the learned, but already pressed hard by a popular literature in the speech of the people. The Prákrits, or ancient-spoken dialects, had given place to the modern vernaculars of Northern India. In Southern India a still greater change had taken place. The obscure non-Aryan races had there developed a political organization and a copious literature, written in vernaculars of their own,—vernaculars which, while richly endowed for literary uses, remained non-Aryan in all essentials of structure and type.

The Dra-
vidians.

Leaving aside, for the moment, the changes among the Aryans in the north, let us briefly examine this survival of prehistoric non-Aryan life in the southern peninsula. The non-Aryan races of the south were spoken of by Sanskrit authors under the general name of Dravidas, and their

¹ For the ideas connoted by this word, and its later application to the Huns and Musalmáns, see the Honourable K. T. Telang's *Essay on the Mudrárákhasa*, pp. 4-7, 12, etc., and footnotes. Bombay.

languages under the vague term *Paisáchi*. The latter term covered, however, a wider linguistic area, from the speech of the Bhotas of Tibet to that of the Pándyas or Tamil-speaking tribes of Southern India.

Modern philology, rejecting any generic term, proves that the scattered non-Aryan languages of India belong to separate stocks. Some of the isolated tribes, who still survive in their hill and forest retreats around Bengal, entered from the north-east, and brought with them dialects akin to the Chinese. The great body of Dravidian speech in the south seems, however, to have had its origin, equally with the Aryan languages, to the north-west of the Himálayas. It would appear that long before the Aryan invasions, a people speaking a very primitive Central Asian language, had entered by the Sind passes. These were the Dravidas or Dravidians of later times. Other non-Aryan races from the north pushed them onwards to the present Dravidian country in the south of the peninsula. But the Dravidians had left more than one colony on their line of march. The Brahuís of the Sind frontier, the Gonds and Kus of the Central Provinces, the Uraóns of Chutíá Nágpur, with a tribal offshoot in the Rájmahál hills overlooking the Gangetic valley,¹ remain to this day as landmarks along the Dravidian route.

The Dravidian language contains words apparently belonging to a phase of human speech, anterior to the separation of the Indo-Germanic from the Scythian stocks.² It presents affinities to the present Ugrian of Siberia, and to the present Finnish of Northern Europe; while its analogies to the ancient Behistun tablets of Media have been worked out by the great Dravidian scholar of our times.³ Those tablets recorded the life of Darius Hystaspes in the old Persian, together with a rendering in the speech of the Scythians of the Medo-Persian Empire. They date from the 5th century B.C., and they indicate a common starting-place of the Turanian family of languages whose fragments have been scattered to the shores of

The
Dravidian
route.

The
Dravidian
language.

Its place
in philo-
logy.

¹ *Introduction to the Malto Language*, p. iv. (Agra, 1884), by the Rev. Ernest Droese; to whom the author is indebted for valuable local details which he hopes to incorporate hereafter in a larger work.

² *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, by Bishop Caldwell, p. 46, ed. 1875. Unfortunately, the paging of that edition repeats itself, running as far as p. 154 in the introduction, and commencing again (in a slightly different type) at p. 1 of the Grammar itself. Except when otherwise mentioned, the pages cited in this book refer to the first or introductory series of Bishop Caldwell's numerals.

³ *Idem*, pp. 68-72, and 106.

the Baltic, the Steppes of Northern Siberia, and the Malabar coast. This family belongs to the primæval agglutinative phase of human speech, as opposed to the inflectional stage which the later Aryan migrations into India represent. The Dravidians found refuge, after their long wanderings, in the sea-girt extremity of the Indian peninsula. In its isolation this Turanian speech has there preserved its primitive type, and forms one of the most ancient relics of the prehistoric world.

The
Dravidians
in Sanskrit
literature.

The extrusion of the Dravidians from Northern India had taken place before the arrival of the Aryan-speaking races. The Dravidians are to be distinguished from the later non-Aryan immigrants, whom the Vedic tribes found in possession of the valleys of the Indus and Ganges. These later non-Aryans were in their turn subjugated or pushed out by the Aryan newcomers; and they accordingly appear in the Vedic hymns as the 'enemies' (Dasyus) and 'serfs' (Súdras) of the Indo-Aryan settlers. The Dravidian non-Aryans of the south, on the other hand, appear from the first in the Sanskrit as friendly forest folk, the monkey armies who helped the Aryan hero Ráma on his march through Southern India against the demon king of Ceylon.

Pre-Aryan
Dravidian
civilisation.

The Tamil language still preserves evidence of a Dravidian civilisation before the southern advance of the Aryans which the Rámáyana represents. 'They had "kings,"' writes Bishop Caldwell,¹ 'who dwelt in "strong houses," and ruled over small "districts of country." They had "minstrels" who recited "songs" at "festivals," and they seem to have had alphabetical "characters" written with a stylus on palmyra leaves. A bundle of those leaves was called a "book." They acknowledged the existence of God, whom they styled Kô or King. They erected to his honour a "temple," which they called Kô-il, God's house. Marriage existed among them. They were acquainted with the ordinary metals, with the exception of tin, lead, and zinc; with all the planets ordinarily known to the ancients, excepting Mercury and Saturn. They had numerals up to a hundred, some of them up to a thousand. They had "medicines;" "hamlets" and "towns," but no cities; "canoes," "boats" and even "ships" (small decked coasting vessels).

Dravidian
arts.

'They were well versed in "agriculture," and delighted in "war." They were armed with "bows" and "arrows," with "spears" and "swords." All the ordinary or necessary arts of life, including "spinning," "weaving," and "dyeing," existed

¹ *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, condensed from pp. 117, 118.

among them. They excelled in "pottery," as their places of sepulture show. They were ignorant, not only of every branch of "philosophy," but even of "grammar." Their undeveloped intellectual condition is especially apparent in words relating to the operations of the mind. To express "the will" they would have been obliged to describe it as "that which in the inner part says, I am going to do so and so."

While the Dravidians appear in Sanskrit literature as friends or allies, the Aryans were not their conquerors, but their 'instructors' or 'fathers.' The first Bráhmaṇ settlers in the south came as hermits or sages, who diffused around them a halo of higher civilisation. The earliest of such Bráhmaṇ colonies among the Dravidians, led by the holy Agastya, has long faded into the realms of mythology. 'The Vindhya Mountains,' it is said, 'prostrated themselves before Agastya,' still fondly remembered as the Tamir-muni, pre-eminently the Sage to the Tamil race. He introduced philosophy at the court of the first Pándyan king, wrote many treatises for his royal disciple, and now lives for ever in the heavens as Canopus, the brightest star in the Southern Indian hemisphere. He is worshipped as Agasteswara, the Lord Agastya, near Cape Comorin. But the orthodox still believe him to be alive, although invisible to sinful mortals, hidden away in the conical mountain called Agastya's Hill, from which the sacred river of Tinneveli springs.

This legend serves to indicate the influence of Sanskrit civilisation and learning among the Dravidian race. That influence was essentially a friendly one. The Bráhmaṇs became the 'fathers' of the less advanced race; and although they classified the non-Aryan multitude as Súdras, yet this term did not connote in Southern India the ideas of debasement and servitude which it affixed to the non-Aryan races in the north. The Buddhist missionaries were probably the first Aryan instructors of the Dravidian kings and peoples, and their labours must have begun before the commencement of the Christian era.

Bishop Caldwell takes the Aryan emigration under Vijaya, from Magadha in Bengal to Ceylon, *circa* B.C. 550, as the starting-point of Aryan civilisation in Southern India. Dr. Burnell, however, believes that Aryan civilisation had not penetrated deeply among the Dravidians until the advent of Kumáрила, the Bráhmaṇ reformer from Behar in the 8th century A.D.¹

¹ Dr. Burnell's article in the *Indian Antiquary* for October 1872.

Bráhmaṇ hermits had doubtless taught the Dravidian peoples, and Bráhmaṇ sages had adorned Dravidian courts long before this latter date. But it was from the great religious revival of the 8th century, that the continuous and widespread influence of Bráhmaṇ civilisation in Southern India took its rise.

Dravidian speech developed from the 8th to the 12th century A.D.,¹ composed their religious treatises in Sanskrit. The intellectual awakening, produced by their teaching, also gave the first impulse to the use of the vernacular languages of India for literary purposes. The Dravidians gratefully acknowledge that they owe the settlement of the grammatical principles of their speech to Sanskrit sages, among whom the legendary Agastya holds the highest rank. But the development of that speech into a vernacular literature was chiefly the work of the Dravidians themselves. Indeed, the first outburst of their vernacular literature sprang from the resistance of their previous Buddhistic faith to the Bráhmaṇical religious revival.

The Dravidian dialects. Before the arrival of the European nations in the 16th and 17th centuries, four Dravidian dialects had developed literatures. The Tamil, the Telugu, the Kánarese, and the Malayálam are now literary languages of established reputation. But space compels us to concentrate our attention on the oldest and most influential of the vernacular literatures of Southern India,—the Tamil. This language, in its structure and its vocabulary, forms the best representative of cultivated Dravidian speech. It has not feared to incorporate such philosophical, religious, and abstract terms as it required from the Sanskrit. But its borrowings in this respect are the mere luxuries or delicacies of the language, and they have left unaffected its robust native fabric. ‘Tamil,’ writes Bishop Caldwell, ‘can readily dispense with the greater part or the whole of its Sanskrit, and by dispensing with it, rises to a purer and more refined style.’² He maintains that the Ten Commandments can be translated into classical Tamil with the addition of a single Sanskrit word. That word is ‘image.’

First cultivation of Tamil. According to native tradition, Tamil was first cultivated by the sage Agastya. Many works, besides a grammar and treatises on philosophy and science, are ascribed to him. His name served indeed as a centre around which Tamil compositions of widely separated periods, including some of recent date, gather. The oldest Tamil grammar now extant,

¹ *Vide ante*, pp. 209 and 217. ² *Comparative Grammar*, pp. 50, 51.

the Tol-Káppiyam, is assigned to one of his disciples. But the rise of a continuous Tamil literature belongs to a later period. The Sivaite and Vishnuite revival of the Bráhmaṇ apostles in Southern India, from the 8th century onwards, stirred up a counter movement on the part of the Jains. Before that period, the Buddhism of the Dravidian kingdoms had modelled itself on the Jain type. We shall see hereafter that early Buddhism in Northern India adopted the Prákrit or vernacular speech for its religious treatises. On the same analogy, Buddhism in Southern India, as the religion of the people, defended itself against the Bráhmaṇical revival of the 8th century by works in the popular dialects. The Dravidian Buddhists or Jains created a cycle of Tamil literature, anti-Bráhmaṇical in tone, stretching from the 9th to the 13th century. Jain cycle of Tamil literature.
9th to 13th century A.D.

Its first great composition, the Kural of Tiruvalluvar, not later than the 10th century A.D., is said to have been the work of a poet sprung from the Pariah or lowest caste. It enforces the old Sankya philosophy in 1330 distichs or poetical aphorisms, dealing with the three chief desires of the human heart; wealth, pleasure, and virtue. To the sister of its author, a Pariah poetess, are ascribed many compositions of the highest moral excellence, and of undying popularity in Southern India. The Jain period of Tamil literature includes works on ethics and language; among them the Divákaram, literally the 'Day-making' Dictionary. The period culminated in the Chintámaní, a romantic epic of 15,000 lines by an unknown Jain author. Its great Pariah poet, 900 A.D. (?)
The Jain epic. Indeed, it is worthy of remark that several of the best Indian authors, whether Sanskrit or vernacular, have left no indication of their names. As it was the chief desire of an Indian sage to merge his individual existence in the Universal Existence; so it appears to have been the wish of many Indian men of letters of the highest type to lose their literary individuality in the school or cycle of literature to which they belonged.

Contemporaneous with the Jain cycle of Tamil literature, the great adaptation of the Rámáyana was composed by Karabar for the Dravidian races. This work is a Tamil paraphrase or imitation, rather than a translation of the ancient Sanskrit epic. A stanza prefixed to the work states that it was finished in the year corresponding to 886 A.D. But this stanza may itself be a later addition; and Bishop Caldwell, after a careful examination of the whole evidence, places the work after 1100. The Tamil Rámáyana.

Tamil
Sivaite
hymno-
logies.

Between that period and the 16th century, two encyclopædic collections of Tamil hymns in praise of Siva were gradually formed. They breathe a deeply religious spirit, and the earlier collection (*post* 1200 A.D.) still holds its place in the affections of the Tamil-speaking people. The later collection was the work of a Sivaite devotee and his disciples, who devoted themselves to uprooting Jainism (*circa* 1500 A.D.). During the same centuries, the Vishnuite apostles were equally prolific in Tamil religious song. Their Great Book of the Four Thousand Psalms constitutes a huge hymnology dating from the 12th century onwards. After a period of literary inactivity, the Tamil genius again blossomed forth in the 16th and 17th centuries with a poet-king as the leader of the literary revival.

Tamil
Vishnuite
hymno-
logy.

The Sittar
Tamil
poets.

Their pure
theism.

In the 17th century arose an anti-Bráhmanical Tamil literature known as the Sittar school. The Sittars or sages were a Tamil sect who, while retaining Siva as the name of the One God, rejected everything in Siva-worship inconsistent with pure theism. They were quietists in religion, and alchemists in science. They professed to base their creed upon the true original teaching of the Rishís, and indeed assumed to themselves the names of these ancient inspired teachers of mankind. They thus obtained for their poems, although written in a modern colloquial style, the sanction of a venerable antiquity. Some scholars believe that they detect Christian influences in works of the Sittar school. But it must be remembered that the doctrines and even the phraseology of ancient Indian theism and of Indian Buddhism approach closely to the subsequent teaching and, in some instances, to the very language of Christ.¹

¹ The following specimens of the Sittar school of Tamil poetry are taken from Bishop Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, p. 148. The first is a version of a poem of Siva-vákya, given by Mr. R. C. Caldwell, the Bishop's son, in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1872. He unconsciously approximates the verses to Christian ideas, for example, by the title, 'The Shepherd of the Worlds,' which Bishop Caldwell states may have meant to the poet only 'King of the Gods.'

THE SHEPHERD OF THE WORLDS.

How many various flowers
Did I, in bygone hours,
Cull for the gods, and in their honour strew ;
In vain how many a prayer
I breathed into the air,
And made, with many forms, obeisance due.

The Tamil writers of the 18th and 19th centuries are classified as modern. The honours of this period are divided between a pious Sivaite and the Italian Jesuit, Beschi. This missionary of genius and learning not only wrote Tamil prose of the highest excellence, but he composed a great religious epic in classical Tamil, which has won for him a conspicuous rank among Dravidian poets. His work, the *Tembávani*, gives a Tamil adaptation of the narrative and even of the geography of the Bible, suited to the Hindu taste of the 18th century.

Since the introduction of printing, the Tamil press has been prolific. A catalogue of Tamil printed books, issued in Madras up to 1865, enumerated 1409 works. In the single year 1882, no fewer than 558 works were printed in the vernaculars in Madras, the great proportion of them being in Tamil.

While the non-Aryans of Southern India had thus evolved

Beating my breast, aloud
How oft I called the crowd
To drag the village car ; how oft I stray'd,
In manhood's prime, to lave
Sunwards the flowing wave,
And, circling Saiva fanes, my homage paid.

But they, the truly wise,
Who know and realize
Where dwells the Shepherd of the Worlds, will ne'er
To any visible shrine,
As if it were divine,
'Deign to raise hands of worship or of prayer.

THE UNITY OF GOD AND OF TRUTH.

God is one, and the Veda is one ;
The disinterested, true Guru is one, and his initiatory rite one ;
When this is obtained his heaven is one ;
There is but one birth of men upon the earth,
And only one way for all men to walk in :
But as for those who hold four Vedas and six shastras,
And different customs for different people,
And believe in a plurality of gods,
Down they will go to the fire of hell !

GOD IS LOVE.

The ignorant think that God and love are different.
None knows that God and love are the same.
Did all men know that God and love are the same,
They would dwell together in peace, considering love as God.

Aryan languages of North-
ern India ;
Sanskrit.

a copious literature and cultivated spoken dialects out of their isolated fragments of prehistoric speech, a more stately linguistic development was going on in the Aryan north. The achievements of Sanskrit as a literary vehicle in the various departments of poetry, philosophy, and science, have been described in chapter iv. at such length as the scope of this work permits. But Sanskrit was only the most famous of several Aryan dialects in the north. One of its eminent modern teachers defines it as 'that dialect which, regulated and established by the labours of the native grammarians, has led for the last 2000 years or more an artificial life, like that of the Latin during most of the same period in Europe.'¹ The Aryan vernaculars of modern India are the descendants not of Sanskrit, but of the spoken languages of the Aryan immigrants into the north. The Bráhmānical theory is that these ancient spoken dialects, or Prākritis, were corruptions of the purer Sanskrit. European philology has disproved this view, and the question has arisen whether Sanskrit was ever a spoken language at all.

Was San-
skrit ever
a vernacu-
lar?

Dr. John
Muir's
affirmative
answer.

This question has a deep significance in the history of the Indian vernaculars, and it is necessary to present, with the utmost brevity, the views of the leading authorities on the subject. Dr. John Muir, that *clarum et venerabile nomen* in Anglo-Indian scholarship, devotes many pages to 'reasons for supposing that the Sanskrit was originally a spoken language.'² He traces the Sanskrit of the philosophical period to the earlier forms in the Vedic hymns, and concludes 'that the old spoken language of India and the Sanskrit of the Vedas were at one time identical.'³

Professor
Benfey's
view ;

affirma-
tive.

Professor Benfey gives the results of his long study of the question in even greater detail. He believes that Sanskrit-speaking migrations from beyond the Himālayas continued to follow one another into India down to perhaps the 9th century B.C. That Sanskrit became the prevailing Indian vernacular dialect throughout Hindustán, and as far as the southern borders of the Maráthá country. That it began to die out as a spoken language from the 9th century B.C., and had become extinct as a vernacular in the 6th century B.C. ; its place being taken by derivative dialects or Prākritis. But that it still lingered in the schools of the Bráhmans ; and that, about the 3rd century

¹ Professor Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. ix. Leipzig, 1879.

² Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. ii. pp. 144-160, ed. 1874.

³ *Idem*, p. 160, and Dr. Muir's long footnote, No. 181.

B.C., it was brought back into public life as a sacred language with a view to refuting the Buddhistic teachers who wrote in the vernacular or Prākṛit dialects. Professor Benfey also holds that about the 5th century A.D. Sanskrit had diffused itself over the whole of India as a literary language. We know that a subsequent revival of Sanskrit for the Purāṇic or orthodox treatises of the Brāhmins, as opposed to the new doctrines of the reformers who used the vernacular, actually took place about the 10th century A.D.

Lassen inclines to the same general view. He thinks that, in the time of Asoka, the main body of Aryans of Northern India spoke local dialects; while Sanskrit still remained the speech of Brāhmins, and of dignitaries of State. Lassen's view.

Sanskrit scholars of not less eminence have come to the conclusion that Sanskrit was not at any time a vernacular tongue. Professor Weber assigns it to the learned alone. He thinks that the Prākṛits, or Aryan vernaculars of Northern India, were derived directly from the more ancient Vedic dialects; while Sanskrit was 'the sum of the Vedic dialects constructed by the labour and zeal of grammarians, and polished by the skill of learned men.' Professor Aufrecht agrees 'in believing that Sanskrit proper (*i.e.* the language of the epic poems, the law books, nay, even that of the Brāhmanas) was never actually spoken, except in schools or by the learned.' Weber's view.
Aufrecht's view.

The question has been finally decided, however, not by Sanskrit scholars in Europe, but by students of the modern Aryan vernaculars in India. During the past fourteen years, a bright light has been brought to bear upon the language and literature of ancient India, by an examination of the actual speech of the people at the present day. Evidence from present Indian speech.

Two learned Indian civilians, Mr. Salmon Growse and Mr. John Beames, led the way from not always concurrent points of view. In 1872, Mr. Beames' *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*¹ opened up a new field of human knowledge, and began to effect for the Aryan dialects of the North, what Bishop Caldwell's great work accomplished for non-Aryan speech in Southern India. Dr. Ernest Trumpp's *Grammar of the Sindhi Language* followed, and would probably have modified some of Mr. Beames' views. Another learned German officer of the Indian Government, Professor Rudolf The new study of the vernaculars, 1872-1885.

¹ Three volumes, Trubner & Co. The first volume was published in 1872; the last in 1879.

Hœrnle, further specialized the research by his *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages* (1880), with particular reference to the Hindi. The same scholar and Mr. George Grierson, of the Civil Service, have, during the present year (1885), jointly brought out the first part of a *Comparative Dictionary of the Bihari Language*, which will enable every European inquirer to study the structure and framework of a modern Aryan vernacular for himself. These and other cognate works have accumulated a mass of new evidence, which settles the relationship of the present Aryan vernaculars to the languages of ancient India.

Results
disclosed
by the ver-
naculars.

They prove that those vernaculars do not descend directly from Sanskrit. They indicate the existence of an Aryan speech older than Sanskrit, older, perhaps, than the Vedic hymns; from which the Sanskrit, the Prakrits or ancient spoken dialects of India, and the modern vernaculars were alike derived. Passing beyond the Vedic period, they show that ancient Aryan speech diverged into two channels. The one channel poured its stream into the ocean of Sanskrit, a language 'at once archaic and artificial,' elaborated by the Bráhmancial schools.¹ The other channel branched out into the Prakrits or ancient spoken vernaculars. The artificial Sanskrit (*Samskrita*, i.e. the perfected language) attained its complete development in the grammar of Pánini (*circa* 350 B.C.).² The Prakrits (i.e. naturally evolved dialects) found their earliest extant exposition in the grammar of Vararuchi, about the 1st century B.C.³ But the 4000 algebraic aphorisms of Pánini mark the climax of the labours of probably a long antecedent series of Sanskrit elaborators, while Vararuchi stands at the head of a long series of subsequent Prakrit grammarians.

Diver-
gence of
Sanskrit
and Prak-
rit.

Pánini and
Vararuchi.

The
Prakrits
spread
south.

The spread of the Aryans from Northern India is best marked by the southern advance of their languages. The three great routes of Prakrit speech to the southward were—down the Indus valley on the west; along the Ganges valley to the east; and through certain historical passes of the

¹ Hœrnle and Grierson's *Comparative Dictionary of the Bihari Language*, pp. 33 and 34. Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1885. It should be remembered that Indian grammarians, when speaking of the Vedic language technically, do not call it Sanskrit, but *Chhandas*. They restrict the technical application of Sanskrit to the scholastic language of the Bráhmans, elaborated on the lines of the earlier Vedic.

² *Vide ante*, pp. 100 *et seq.*

³ Hœrnle's *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, p. xviii. *et seq.*, ed. 1880.

Vindhya in the centre. Between 500 B.C. and 500 A.D., the western or Apabhramsa dialects of Prakrit had spread across the Indus basin, and down the Bombay coast. During the same period dialects of Eastern or Magadhí Prakrit had occupied the valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges. Aryan tribes, speaking the Maháráshtrí and Sauraseni Prakrits, had poured through the Vindhyan passes, one of their great lines of march being that followed by the Jabalpur Railway at the present day. The Maháráshtrí dialect reached as far south as Goa on the western coast. The peninsula, to the south and east of the Maháráshtrí linguistic frontier, was inhabited by the Dravidian or Paisáchí-speaking races.

Their three lines of march.

By degrees the main Prakrits, or spoken Aryan dialects, differentiated themselves into local vernaculars, each occupying a more contracted area. A series of maps has been compiled showing the stages of this process between 500 B.C. and 1800 A.D.¹ Various classifications have been framed, both of the modern vernaculars and of the ancient Prakrits. Vararuchi, the earliest Prakrit grammarian extant, enumerates four classes in the 1st century B.C.,—Maháráshtrí, now Maráthí;² Sauraseni, now the Braj of the North-Western Provinces; Magadhí, now Biháří; and Paisáchí, loosely applied to outlying non-Aryan dialects from Nepál to Cape Comorin.

Classification of Prakrits.

Vararuchi's four classes

Apart from the last-named Paisáchí, the literary Prakrits really divide themselves between two great linguistic areas. Sauraseni, with the so-called Maháráshtrí, occupied the upper part of the North-Western Provinces, and sent forth offshoots through the Vindhya passes as far south as Goa. Magadhí spread itself across the middle valley of the Ganges, with its brightest literary centre in Behar. These were the two parents of the most highly developed of the Aryan vernaculars of modern India. The Apabhramsa, or 'broken' dialects of the Indus region, may for the moment be left out of sight.

The two main Prakrits.

The Prakrits, or spoken Aryan dialects of ancient India, received their first literary impulse from Buddhism. As the Bráhmans elaborated Sanskrit into the written vehicle for their

Prakrits developed by Buddhists,

¹ Prefixed to Hoernle and Grierson's *Comparative Dictionary of the Biháří Language*. See also the Language Map appended to Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*.

² Mr. Beames thinks that there is as much of the Magadhí and Sauraseni type in the modern Maráthí as there is of the Maháráshtrí Prakrit, *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages*, vol. i. p. 34, ed. 1872. He holds that Maráthí reproduces the name rather than the substance of Maháráshtrí.

orthodox religion, so the teachers of the new faith appealed to the people by works in the popular tongues. The Buddhist missionaries to Ceylon, *circa* 307 B.C., carried with them the spoken Prākṛit of the Gangetic kingdom of Magadha. This dialect of Northern Indian became Pāli, literally the series or *catena* of holy scripture in Ceylon. While the early Buddhists thus raised the Eastern or Magadhī Prākṛit of Behar to a sacred language, the Jains made use of the Mahārāshtrī Prākṛit of Western India for their religious treatises. In this way, the two most characteristic of the spoken Aryan dialects of ancient India obtained a literary fixity, during the centuries shortly before and after the commencement of our era.

The Prākṛits also remained the speech of the people, and underwent those processes of development, decay, and regeneration to which all spoken languages are subject. On the one hand, therefore, we have the literary Magadhī and Mahārāshtrī Prākṛits of the beginning of the Christian era, the former embalmed in the Buddhist scriptures of Ceylon, the latter in the Jain sacred books of Western India. On the other hand, we have the spoken representatives of these two ancient Prākṛits in the modern vernaculars of Behar and of the Marāthā country.¹

Evolution of modern vernaculars from Prākṛits. The evolution of the modern vernaculars from the ancient Prākṛits is involved in deep obscurity. The curtain falls on the era of Prākṛit speech within a few hundred years after the birth of Christ, and does not again draw up until the 10th century. When it rises, Prākṛit dialects have receded from the stage, and their place has been taken by the modern vernaculars. During the dark interval, linguistic changes had taken place in the old Prākṛits not less important than those which transformed Latin into Italian and Anglo-Saxon into English. Those changes are now being elucidated by the series of comparative grammars and dictionaries mentioned on pp. 335-36. It is only practicable here to state the most important of the results.

Obscure interval, 400-1000 A.D.

The old Prākṛits were synthetical in structure. The

¹ This statement leaves untouched the question how far Marāthī is the direct representative of Mahārāshtrī, or how far it is derived from the Saurasenī Prākṛit. As already mentioned, both the Saurasenī and Mahārāshtrī poured through the Vindhya passes into South-Western India, and combined to form the second of the two main Prākṛits referred to in the classification on a previous page.

modern Aryan vernaculars of India are essentially analytical. During the eight centuries while the curtain hangs down before the stage, the synthetic inflections of the Prakrits had worn out. The terminals of their nouns and verbs had given place to post-positions, and to the disjointed modern particles to indicate time, place, or relation. The function performed in the European languages by prepositions for the nouns are discharged, as a rule, by post-positions in the modern Indian vernaculars. The process was spontaneous, and it represents the natural course of the human mind. 'The flower of synthesis,' to use the words at once eloquent and accurate of Mr. Beames, 'budded and opened; and when full-blown began, like all other flowers, to fade. Its petals, that is its inflections, dropped off one by one; and in due course the fruit of analytical structure sprung up beneath it, and grew and ripened in its stead.'¹

As regards their vocabularies, the Aryan vernaculars of modern India are made up of three elements. One class of their words is named Tatsama, 'the same as' the corresponding words in Sanskrit. A second class is termed Tadbhava, 'similar in nature or origin' to the corresponding words in Sanskrit. The third class is called Desaja, or 'country-born.' This classification is an ancient one of the Indian grammarians, and it is so far artificial that it refers the modern vernaculars to Sanskrit standards; while we know that the modern vernaculars were derived not from the Sanskrit, but from the Prakrits. It suffices, however, for practical purposes.

The great body of modern Indian speech belongs to the second or Tadbhava class of words, and may be taken loosely to represent its inheritance from the old spoken dialects or Prakrits. But the vernaculars have enriched themselves for literary purposes by many terms imported directly from the Sanskrit; to represent religious, philosophical, or abstract ideas. These are the Tatsamas, 'the same as' in Sanskrit. The different vernaculars borrow such 'identical' words from Sanskrit in widely varying proportions. The strongest of the vernaculars, such as Hindí and Maráthí, trust most to their own Tadbhava or Prakrit element; while the more artificial of them, like the Bengálí and Uriyá, are most largely indebted to direct importations of Sanskrit words.

The third element in modern vernacular speech is the Desaja, or 'country-born.' This represents the non-Aryan and

¹ Mr. Beames' *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, vol. i. p. 45 (ed. 1872).

- Non-Aryan element in the vernaculars ; other words not derived either from the Sanskrit or the Prakrits. At one time it was supposed, indeed, that the modern vernaculars of India were simply made up of the Sanskrit of the Aryan settlers, modified by, and amalgamated with, the speech of the ruder non-Aryan races whom they subdued. Modern philology renders this theory no longer tenable. It has proved that Sanskrit played a comparatively unimportant function in the formation of those vernaculars. It also tends to show that the non-Aryan element is less influential than was supposed. Both in structure and in vocabulary the modern vernaculars of India are the descendants neither of the written Sanskrit, nor of the aboriginal tongues, but of the Prakrits or spoken dialects of the ancient Aryans.
- less important than formerly supposed. In regard to grammatical structure, this position is now firmly established. But the proportion of aboriginal or non-Aryan words in the modern Indian vernaculars still remains undetermined. The non-Aryan scholars, with Brian Hodgson and Bishop Caldwell at their head, assign a considerable influence to the non-Aryan element in the modern vernaculars.¹ Dr. Ernest Trumpp believes that nearly three-fourths of the
- in Sindhi, Sindhi words commencing with a cerebral are taken from some non-Aryan or Scythic language, which he would prefer to call Tatar. He thinks, indeed, that there is very strong proof to show that the cerebral letters themselves were borrowed, by the Prakrits and modern Indian vernaculars, from some idiom
- in Gangetic vernaculars, anterior to the introduction of the Aryan languages into India. Bishop Caldwell states that the non-Aryan element, even in the Northern Indian languages, has been estimated at one-tenth of the whole, and in the Marathi at one-fifth.²
- in Marathi. Such generalizations are not accepted by the most eminent students of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars. Mr. Beames strongly expresses his view that the speech of the conquering Aryans completely overmastered that of the aboriginal tribes. The early grammarians were wont to regard as Desaja, or non-Aryan, all words for which they could not discover a Tatsama
- The real proportion still unknown.

¹ See Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson's *Aborigines of India*, Calcutta, 1849; and pp. 1-152 of vol. ii. of his *Miscellaneous Essays* (Trübner, 1880). Also the Rev. Dr. Stevenson's paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*.

² Bishop Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, introd. p. 57 (ed. 1875). Lassen held that the aboriginal tribes not only introduced 'peculiar varieties into the Prakrit dialects,' but also 'occasioned very great corruptions of sound and form in the Indo-Aryan languages' (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 1149). But the more recent investigations of Beames, Hoernle, and Grierson render these *dicta* doubtful.

or Tadbhava origin. But the more delicate processes of modern philology have reduced the number of this class, and tend still further to diminish it. The truth is, that until a complete examination is made with the new lights, both of the vocabulary and of the structure of the Indian vernaculars, no final conclusion can be arrived at.

Dr. Hœrnle thus sums up the existing knowledge in regard to the group of Indian vernaculars on which he is the highest authority: 'That there are non-Aryan elements in the Bihari, I have no doubt. Considering that the Aryans immigrated into India, and absorbed large masses of the indigenous population into their ranks, it would be a wonder if no portion of the aboriginal languages had become incorporated into the Aryan speech. But what the several constituents of that aboriginal portion are, and what proportion they bear to the Aryan element in the vernacular language, it is impossible at present to form any scientific opinion. And what is more,—it is impossible to say whether the assumed aboriginal portion of the Aryan speech was Dravidian, or some other language, such as Kolarian or Tibeto-Burman.'¹

Present
position
of the
question.

¹ Letter from Dr. Rudolf Hœrnle to the author, dated 28th May 1885. Dr. Hœrnle continues—'Attempts have been made now and then (e.g. in *The Indian Antiquary*) to show that some particular selected words of the North Indian languages are really Dravidian. But these, even supposing they had been successful, would not enable any one to pronounce an opinion on the general question of the proportion of non-Aryan words in the Gaudian languages. As a matter of fact, some of these attempts, notably those referring to the genitive and dative post-positions (*kā, ke, ki*, etc.), have been conspicuous failures. It is now, I think, generally admitted that these post-positions are thoroughly Aryan. The truth is, that the way in which the question of the non-Aryan element in the vernaculars should be approached has been hitherto almost entirely misconceived. A little consideration must convince any one that whatever aboriginal elements there may be in the vernaculars, they must have been incorporated into them before the present vernacular times, that is, in the period when Sanskrit and Prakrit flourished. The question therefore properly stands thus—What are the aboriginal elements in Sanskrit and Prakrit? The vernaculars arose from Prakrit (and in a certain sense from Sanskrit) according to certain phonetic laws peculiar to the Aryan languages. Hence it is next to useless to try to refer Bihari (or any Aryan) vernacular words direct to the Dravidian. They must in the first place be referred back (by the well-known Aryan phonetic laws) to their earlier forms in Prakrit and Sanskrit. Only when this is done, the question can properly be asked whether they are Aryan or non-Aryan. And in order to decide this question, it will, among other points, have to be considered whether they possess correlates in the other Aryan languages (e.g. of Europe). But there is every probability that there is a considerable number of words in Sanskrit and Prakrit which are not Aryan, but only

Fourfold composition of the vernaculars : At present, therefore, we cannot advance further than the four following conclusions :—First, that in grammatical structure and in their vocabularies, the modern analytical vernaculars of India represent the old synthetic Prakrits ; after a process of development, decay, and regeneration, which has been going on, as the result of definite linguistic laws, during the past fifteen hundred years. Second, that the modern vernaculars contain a non-Aryan element, derived from the so-called aborigines of India ; but that this element has very slightly affected their grammatical structure, and that the proportion which it holds in their vocabularies is yet undetermined. Third, that the modern vernaculars have enriched themselves, for literary and philosophical purposes, by direct and conscious borrowings from the Sanskrit. Fourth, that they have also imported many terms connected with the administration, the land revenue, judicial business, and official life, from the Persian court language of the Afghán and Mughal dynasties.

The seven Aryan vernaculars. The Aryan vernaculars of modern India may be distributed according to their geographical areas into seven main languages.

- (1) Sindhí. Towards the north-western frontier, Sindhí is spoken by the descendants of the shepherd tribes and the settlements who were left behind by the main stream of the prehistoric Aryan immigrants. The Sindhí language abounds in words of non-Aryan origin ; it contains very few Tatsamas, *i.e.* Sanskrit words in their original shape ; and it is almost destitute of an original literature. The Punjabi language is spoken in the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries. Like the Sindhí, it contains few Tatsamas, *i.e.* words borrowed directly from the Sanskrit.
- (2) Punjabi.
- (3) Gujaráthí. Gujaráthí occupies the area immediately to the south of Punjabi ; while Hindí is conterminous with the Punjabi on the east. These two languages rank next to Punjabi in respect to the paucity of words borrowed directly from the Sanskrit. They are chiefly composed of Tadbhava, *i.e.* words representing the Prakrits or old spoken dialects. Maráthí is spoken in the Districts to the south and east of the Guja-
- (4) Hindí.
- (5) Maráthí.

Aryanized. The question, however, has never been systematically or satisfactorily investigated. Some attempts have latterly been made in this direction by showing that not a few Sanskrit words are, in reality, Prakrit words Sanskritized. The next step will be to show that some Prakrit words are non-Aryan words Prakritized (*i.e.* Aryanized).'

ráthi frontier ; Bengali succeeds to Hindí in the east of Bengal (6) Bengali, and the Gangetic delta ; while Uriyá occupies the Mahánadi (7) Uriyá. delta and the coast of the Bay of Bengal from near the mouth of the Húgli to the northern Districts of Madras. These three last-named vernaculars, Maráthí, Bengali, and Uriyá, are most largely indebted to modern and artificial importations direct from the Sanskrit.

With the exception of Sindhi, the modern vernaculars of India have each a literature of their own. Some of them, indeed, possess a very rich and copious literature. This subject still awaits careful study. The lamented Garcin de Tassy has shown how interesting, and how rich in results, that study may be rendered. His history of Hindi literature,¹ and his yearly review of works published in the Indian vernaculars, form a unique monument to the memory of a scholar who worked under the disadvantage of never having resided in India. But the unexhausted literary stores of the Indian vernaculars can only be appreciated by personal inquiry among the natives themselves. The barest summary of the written and unwritten works in the modern Indian vernaculars is altogether beyond the scope of the present work. It can merely indicate the wealth of unprinted, and in many cases unwritten, works handed down from generation to generation, arranged in geographical areas. The chapter will then conclude by selecting for description a few authors from three of the most advanced of the vernaculars — namely Hindí, Maráthí, and Bengali. It will not touch on the Persian or Musalmán literature of the Delhi Empire.

As regards the isolated vernacular of Orissa, the present Vernacular writer has elsewhere given an analytical catalogue of 107 Uriyá writers authors, with a brief description of 47 Uriyá manuscripts of in Uriyá ; undetermined authorship.² Several of the Uriyá poets and theologians were prolific authors, and have left behind them a number of distinct compositions. Thus, Dina Krishna Dás (circ. 1550 A.D.) was so popular a writer as to earn for himself the title of 'The Son of God Jagannáth.' His separate works number fifteen, and embrace a wide range of subjects, from 'the Waves of Sentiment,' an account of the youthful sports of Krishna, to severe medical treatises. Another Orissa poet of the 16th century composed 23 works,

¹ *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*, par M. Garcin de Tassy, 3 vols. large octavo, 2nd ed., Paris, 1870-71.

² Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. ii. App. ix. ed. 1872.

on religious and metaphysical subjects, such as 'A Walk round the Sacred Enclosures of the Puri Temple,' and 'The Sea of the Nectar of Faith.' The greatest of the Uriyá poets, Upen-dra Bhanj, a Rájá of Gumsar, belongs to nearly the same period. He left behind him 42 collections of poems and treatises, some of them of great length.

Messrs. Hoernle and Grierson have lately exhibited the local literature of Behar, and its sub-divisions, with admirable learning and distinctness.¹ It must suffice here to refer the student to their lists of works in Bihári and the modern dialects of the Gaudian group.

in Bihári.

Rájputána
literature.

An idea of the wealth of poetry current in Rájputána may be gathered from the following statement. The figures are taken from a manuscript note forwarded to the author by the Rev. John Traill, Presbyterian missionary at Jaipur. Besides the ordinary Hindí works, such as translations from the Sanskrit, the Rájputs have a vast store of religious poetry and traditional song, still living in the mouths of the people. The works of only a single sect can be specified in detail.

Dadu.

Dadu, a religious reformer, born at Ahmadábád in 1544, left behind him a Báni, or body of sacred poetry, extending to twenty thousand lines. His life, by Jai Gopál, runs to three thousand lines. Fifty-two disciples spread his doctrine throughout Rájputána and Ajmere, each of them leaving a large collection of religious verse. The literary fertility of the sect may be inferred from the works of nine of the disciples. The poems and hymnology of Gharib Dás are said to amount to 32,000 lines; Jaisá is stated to have composed 124,000 lines; Prayág Dás, 48,000 lines; Rajab-jí, 72,000 lines; Bakhna-jí, 20,000 lines; Bábá Banwári Dás, 12,000 lines; Shankar Dás, 4400 lines; Sándar Dás, 120,000 lines; and Mádhú Dás, 68,000 lines.

Sacred
poetry of a
single sect.

Dadu
hymno-
logies.

These figures are stated on the authority of Mr. Traill, and they are subject to the qualification that no European scholar has yet collected the writings of the sect. They are given as reported by the natives among whom the poems are still current. It is to be regretted that so little has yet been done to edit the stores of vernacular literature in the Feudatory States of India. A noble task lies before the more enlightened of the native princes; and in this task they would receive the willing assistance of English scholars now in India.

¹ *Comparative Dictionary of the Bihári Language*, pp. 38-42 (quarto; Calcutta, 1885).

A very brief notice of the most distinguished authors in Hindí, Maráthí, and Bengálí must conclude this chapter. For practical purposes, those three vernaculars represent the highest modern development of the modern Indian mind. This is, of course, exclusive of the Dravidian literature in the south of India, which has already been dealt with at the beginning of the chapter. The monastic literature of Burma is almost entirely a reproduction of the ancient Buddhist writings, and does not come within the scope of this work.

Hindí ranks, perhaps, highest among the Indian vernaculars in strength and dignity. At the head of Hindí authors is Chand Bardái. Chand was a native of Lahore, but lived at the court of Prithwi Rájá, the last Hindu sovereign of Delhi, at the close of the twelfth century.¹ His poems are a collection of ballads in which he recites, in his old age, the gallant deeds of the royal master whom he had served, and whose sad fate he had survived. They disclose the ancient Prákrit in the very act of passing into the modern vernacular. In grammatical structure they still retain many relics of the synthetic or inflectional type; although the analytical forms of the modern vernaculars are beginning to crowd out these remnants of the earlier phase of the Indian speech. Chand's ballads have been printed, but they also survive in the mouths of the people. They are still sung by wandering bards throughout North-Western India and Rájputána, to near the mouths of the Indus, and to the frontier of Baluchistán.

The vernacular literatures derived their chief impulse, however, not from court minstrelsy, but from religious movements. Each new sect seems to have been irresistibly prompted to embody its doctrines in verse. Kabír, the Indian Luther of the fifteenth century, may be said to have created the sacred literature of Hindí.² His Ramainís and Sabdas form an immense body of religious poetry and doctrine. In the following century, Súr Dás of Mathura, Nabhají and Keshava Dás of Bijápur, wrote respectively the Súrággar, the Bhaktamálá, and the Rámchandrika. A brief notice of the Bhaktamálá has already been given at page 208. In the seventeenth century, Bihári Lál, of the ancient city of Amber near Jaipur, composed his famous Satsai; and Bundelkhand produced its prince of poets, Lál Kavi, the author of the Chhatra Prakás. All these were natives of western

Selected
vernacular
authors.

Hindí
authors :

Chand
Bardái,
12th cen-
tury A.D.

Later
Hindí
authors.

15th cen-
tury A.D.

16th cen-
tury.

17th cen-
tury.

¹ For Prithwi Rájá, *vide ante*, chap. x. p. 276.

² For Kabír's work as a religious reformer, *vide ante*, pp. 208, 218.

Hindustán, except Kabír, who belonged to the Benares district.

18th century.

The last troubled years of the Mughal dynasty in the eighteenth century brought about a silence in Hindí literature. That silence was effectually broken by the introduction of the printing press in the nineteenth century. It has been succeeded by a great outburst of Hindí activity in prose and verse. Every decade now produces hundreds of Hindí publications, to some extent reproductions or translations of ancient authors, but also to a large extent original work.

19th century.

Maráthí literature.

The Maráthás are scarcely more celebrated as a military than as a literary race. Their language is highly developed, and possesses structural complications attractive to the Indian student. The first Maráthí poet of fame was Nám Deva, about the end of the thirteenth century. Like his contemporary, Dnyánoba the author of the celebrated Dnyáneshwarí, he was deeply impressed with the spiritual aspects of life. Indeed, almost all the Maráthí writers are religious poets. About the year 1571, Sridhar compiled his huge Maráthí adaptation or paraphrase of the Sanskrit Puránas.

Nám Deva, 13th century A.D.
Dnyánoba, 13th century A.D.

Tukarám, 17th century A.D.

Maráthí poetry reached its highest flight in the Abhangas or spiritual poems of Tukarám or Tukoba (*circa* 1609). This famous ascetic started life as a petty shopkeeper; but failing in retail trade, he devoted himself to religion and literature. The object of his adoration was Vithoba, a corruption of Bishtu or Vishnu. Tukarám was the popular poet in Western India of the reformed Vishnuite faith which Chaitanyá had taught in Bengal. He inveighed with peculiar unctiousness and beauty against the riches of the world, which in his earlier years he had himself failed to secure.

Mayúr Pandit, 18th century A.D.

About 1720, Mayúr Pandit or Moropanth poured forth his copious song in strains which some regard as even more elevated than the poems of Tukarám.

Besides its accumulations of religious verse, Maráthí possesses a prose literature, among which the chief compositions are the Bakhars or Annals of the Kings. It is also rich in love songs, and farcical poetry of a broad style of wit.

Bengalí literature;

Bengalí is, in some respects, the most modern of the Indian vernaculars. As a spoken language, it begins on the north, where Hindí ends on the south; that is to say, in the Gangetic valley below Behar. From Rájmahal on the north to the Bay of Bengal, and from Assam on the east to Orissa on the

west, Bengali forms the speech of about 50 millions of people in the valleys and deltas of the Brahmaputra and the Ganges. The language exhibits clearly marked dialectical modifications in the north, the east, and the west, of this great area. But for literary purposes, Bengali may be regarded as a linguistic entity. Indeed, literary Bengali of the modern type is, to some extent, an artificial creation. Much more than the Hindi, it has enriched itself by means of words directly imported from the Sanskrit. Such words not only supply the philosophical, religious, and abstract terms of Bengali literature, but they enter largely into the every-day language of the people. This is to some extent due to the circumstance that the Bengalis have very rapidly adopted western ideas. With the introduction of such ideas arose the necessity for new terms; and for these terms, Bengali writers naturally turned towards the Sanskrit.

its geo-
graphical
area;

and
linguistic
features.

The process has not been confined, however, to philosophic works. Even in poetry, the best Bengali writers of the present day affect a more classical style than that of their predecessors from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century. In 17 lines of Bengali verse taken from a contemporary periodical, the *Banga-darshana*, there are only six or seven words which are not Sanskrit importations. 'If we progress in this direction a century longer,' writes a native author, 'the Bengali language will be distinguishable from the Sanskrit only by the case terminations and mood and tense terminations.'¹ The framework of the colloquial language still continues to be derived from the Prakrit, although Sanskrit terms are diffusing themselves even among the spoken language of the educated classes.

Sanskritiz-
ing ten-
dency of
Bengali.

Bengali literature commences with the vernacular poets of the fourteenth century. During its first two hundred years, Bengali song was devoted to the praises of Krishna, and the loves of the young god. In the sixteenth century two great revolutions, religious and political, took place in Bengal. In the political world, the independent Afghan dynasty of Bengal succumbed to the advancing Mughal power; and

Three
periods of
Bengali
literature;
(1) 14th to
16th cen-
tury.

¹ *The Literature of Bengal*, by Arcy Dae, p. 43, Calcutta, 1877. This interesting volume is based on the more elaborate Bengali work of Pandit Ramgati Nyaratna. A complete treatment of the subject is still a desideratum, which it is hoped that Bengali research will before long supply. Mr. Dae, whose volume has been freely used in the following pages, would confer a benefit both on his countrymen and on European students of the Indian vernaculars, by undertaking the task.

Bengal was finally incorporated as a Province of the Delhi Empire.

- (2) 16th to 18th century. In religion, a reformation of the Sivaite religion was effected under Bráhmaṇ impulses, and Krishna-worship receded from its literary pre-eminence. During the next two hundred and fifty years Bengali poetry found its chief theme in the praises of Káli or Chandí, the queen of Siva, who is alike the god of Destruction and of Reproduction. Early in the nineteenth century, European influences began to impress themselves on Bengali thought. Bengali literature accordingly entered upon a third period, the period through which it is still passing, and which corresponds to the imported Western civilisation of India in the nineteenth century.

- Bidyápati Thákur, 14th century. Putting aside Jayadeva of Bír bhúm, the Sanskrit singer in the twelfth century, Bengali poetry commences with Bidyápati Thákur, a Bráhmaṇ of Tírhút. Bidyápati adorned the court of King Sivasinha of Tírhút in the fourteenth century; and a deed of gift, still existing, proves that he had made his fame before 1400 A.D. Although popularly claimed as the Chaucer of Bengal, he wrote in what must now be regarded as a Bihárá rather than a Bengali dialect; and recited in learned verse the loves of Rádhá and Krishna. About the same period Chandí Dás, a Bír bhúm Bráhmaṇ, took up the sacred strain in the Bengali tongue. Originally a devotee of the goddess Chandí, queen of Siva, he was miraculously converted to the worship of Krishna, whose praises he celebrated in a less learned, but more forcible colloquial style. To these two poets and their followers, Krishna was a lover rather than a deity; and his mistress Rádhá, more of a pastoral beauty than a goddess. But their poetry constantly realizes that beneath the human amours of the divine pair, lies a deep spiritual significance. This didactic side of their poetry may be illustrated by three verses of Bidyápati to Krishna under his title of Mádhava, 'The Honeyed One.'

Chandí Dás, 15th century.

Verses by Bidyápati.

A HYMN TO KRISHNA.

'O ! Mádhava ! our final stay,
The Saviour of the world Thou art,
In mercy look upon the weak,
To Thee I turn with trustful heart.

Half of my life in sleep has past ;
In illness—boyhood—years have gone,
In pleasure's vortex long I roamed,
Alas ! forgetting Thee, the One.

Unnumbered beings live and die,
 They rise from Thee and sink in Thee,
 (Thou uncreate and without end ¹)
 Like ripples melting in the sea. ¹

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the great religious reformer Chaitanyá ² gave a more serious turn to the poetry of Bengal. He preached the worship of Vishnu, and the doctrine of saving faith in that deity. Krishna was the pastoral incarnation of the god; but the Vishnuism taught by Chaitanyá spiritualized the human element in the amours which the earlier poets had somewhat warmly sung. Chaitanyá declared the spiritual equality of mankind, and combated the cruel distinctions of caste. His doctrine amounted to a protest against the Hinduism of his day, although it has been skilfully incorporated by the later Hinduism of our own. The opposition, excited by Chaitanyá's Vishnuite reformation, took the form of a revival of the worship of Siva and his queen.

There were thus, in the sixteenth century, two great religious movements going on in Bengal; the one in favour of Vishnu, the second person of the Hindu triad; and the other in favour of Siva, the third person of that trinity. The more serious aspect which Chaitanyá gave to Vishnuism did not lend itself to popular song so easily as the human loves of Krishna, celebrated by the earlier Vishnuite poets. On the other hand, the counter revival of Sivaism accepted as its objects of adoration, some form or other of the Goddess of Destruction and Reproduction under her various names ³ of Umá, Párvatí, Durgá, Kálí, or Chandí. These names suggested alike the terrors and the mercies of the Queen of Siva, and appealed in a special manner to a people dwelling amid the stupendous catastrophes of nature in a deltaic Province like Bengal.

The result was an outburst of Bengali song, which took as its theme the praises of Chandí, the wife of Siva. Kirtibás Ojhá, a Bráhmaṇ of Nadiyá District in the sixteenth century, marks the transition stage. Kirtibás drew his inspiration from the Sanskrit epics, and his great work is the Bengali version of the *Rámáyana*. His translation is still recited by Ghattaks or bards at a thousand religious and festive gatherings every year throughout Bengal. Its modern versions have received much

Religious
move-
ments of
the 16th
century.

The
Vishnuite
Revival.

The
Sivaite
Revival.

Bengali
Sivaite
poetry.

Kirtibás
Ojhá, 16th
century.

The transi-
tion poet.

¹ Slightly altered from the rendering of Mr. Dae's *Literature of Bengal*, p. 60 (Bose & Co., Calcutta, 1877).

² *Vide ante*, pp. 219-21.

³ For the different names of the wife of Siva, and the aspects of the goddess which these names connote, *vide ante*, pp. 211, 212.

His Bengali *Rámáyana*.

re-touching from later poets of the classical or Sanskritizing school; but an old copy of 1693 proves that Kirtibás wrote in a strong colloquial style, with a ring and rhythm of peculiar beauty. The *Rámáyana* recites the achievements of the heroic incarnation of Vishnu, and Kirtibás Ojhá may therefore be claimed as a Vishnuite poet. But in reality his work marks the Sanskrit revival which gave the impulse to the Sivaite or Chandí poets of the next two and a half centuries.

Sivaite and Chandí poets, 16th to 18th century.

Makunda Rám.

These Sivaite poets kept possession of Bengali literature during the 250 years which elapsed before the commencement of the third or present period. First among them was Makunda Rám Chakravarti, a Bráhman of Bardwán District, and a contemporary of Kirtibás Ojhá in the 16th century. He was driven from his home by the oppressions of Muhammadan officers, and his verses give a lifelike picture of the Muhammadan land settlement of Lower Bengal. All classes, he says, were crushed with an equal tyranny; fallow lands were entered as arable, and by a false measurement, three-fourths of a *bighá* were taxed as a full *bighá*. In the collection of the revenue, the oppressions were not less than in the assessment. The treasury officers deducted more than one rupee in seven for short weight and exchange. The husbandmen fled from their lands, and threw their cattle and goods into the markets, 'so that a rupee worth of things sold for ten annas.' Makunda Rám's family shared the common ruin; but the young poet, after a wandering life, found shelter as tutor in the family of Bánkurá Deb, a powerful landholder of Birbhúm and Midnapur Districts. He was honoured with the title of Kabi Kankan, or the Jewel of Bards, and wrote two great poems besides minor songs.

The story of Kálketu, by Makunda Rám.

His most popular work is the story of Kálketu, the hunter. Kálketu, a son of Indra, King of Heaven, is born upon earth as a poor hunter. In his celestial existence he had a devoted wife, and she, too, is born in this world, and becomes his faithful companion throughout their allotted earthly career. Their mortal births had been brought about by the goddess Chandí, queen of Siva, in order that she might have a city founded and dedicated to herself. The poor hunter and his wife, Fullorá, after years of hardship, are guided to a buried treasure by their kind patroness, Chandí. With this, the hunter builds a city, and dedicates it to the goddess. But misled by a wicked adviser, he goes to war with the King of Kalinga on the south, is defeated, and cast into prison. In due time Chandí rescues her foolish but faithful servant. At

last the hunter and his true wife die and ascend to heaven. He lives again as the son of Indra, while Fullorá again becomes his celestial spouse.

The other poem of Makunda Rám narrates the adventures of a spice merchant, Dhanapati, and his son, Srímanta Sadágar. A celestial nymph, Khulloná, is sent down to live on earth as penance for a venial offence. She grows into a beautiful girl, and is wedded by the rich merchant, Dhanapati, who has, however, already a first wife. Before the marriage can be consummated, the king of the country sends off the merchant to Eastern Bengal to procure a golden cage for a favourite bird. The bride is left with his elder wife in the family home upon the banks of the Adjai, a river which separates Bírghúm and Bardwán Districts in South-Western Bengal. A wicked handmaid excites the jealousy of the elder wife, and the girl-bride is condemned to menial offices, and sent forth as a goat-herd to the fields. The kind goddess Chandí, however, converts the elder lady to a better frame of mind; the girl-bride is received back; and on the return of her husband becomes his favourite wife. In due time she bears him a son, Srímanta Sadágar, the hero of the subsequent story.

The king next sends the merchant for spices to Ceylon, and his voyage down the great rivers of Bengal and across the sea is vividly described. From the towns mentioned on his route, it appears that in those days the water-way from Bardwán District and the neighbouring country, to the Bay of Bengal, lay by the Húglí as far down as Calcutta, and then struck south-eastward by what is now the dead river of the Adí-Gangá.¹ The poor merchant is imprisoned by the King of Ceylon, and there languishes until he is sought out by his brave son, Srímanta Sadágar, from whom the poem takes its name. Srímanta is also seized, and led out to execution by the cruel king. But the kind goddess Chandí delivers both father and son, and the beautiful Khulloná receives back with joy her lost treasures from the sea.

In the 17th century, the second of the two great Sanskrit epics, the *Mahábhárata*, was translated by Kási Rám Dás. This poet also belonged to Bardwán District. His version still holds its place in the affections of the people, and is chanted by professional bards throughout all Bengal. The more tender episodes are rendered with feeling and grace;

The Srí-
manta
Sadágar of
Makunda
Rám.

Voyage
viâ the
Húglí and
Adí-Gangá
to Ceylon,
16th cen-
tury.

Kási Rám
Dás, 17th
century.

Bengalí
Rámáy-
ana.

¹ See article HUGLI RIVER in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

but the fiery quarrels and heroic spirit of the Sanskrit original lose much in the Bengali translation.

Bengali
poets of
the 18th
century.

Rám
Prasád
Sen.

The 18th century produced two great Bengali poets. In 1720, Rám Prasád Sen, of the Vaidya caste, was born in Nadiyá District. Sent at an early age as clerk to a Calcutta office, he scribbled verses when he should have been casting up accounts, and was reported for punishment by the chief clerk. The head of the business read the rhymes, dismissed the poet, but assigned to him a pension of Rs. 30 a month. With this he retired to his native village, and wrote poetry for the rest of his life. Rám Prasád was a devout Tantrik or worshipper of the wife of Siva, and his poems consist chiefly of appeals to the goddess under her various names of Kálí, Sakti, etc. His songs, however, are more often complaints of her cruelty than thanksgivings for her mercies.¹

The Court
of Nadiyá,
18th cen-
tury.

The little Hindu court of Nadiyá then formed the centre of learning and literature in Bengal, and the Rájá endowed Rám Prasád with 33 acres of rent-free land. The grateful poet in return dedicated to the prince his *Kabiranján*, or version of the tale of *Bidyá Sundar*. The fame of this version has, however, been eclipsed by the rendering of the same story by a rival poet Bhárat Chandra. Two other well-known works, the *Kálí Kirtan* and the *Krishna Kirtan*, in honour respectively of Kálí and Krishna, with many minor poems, have also come down from the pen of Rám Prasád.

Bhárat
Chandra
Rái.

The other great Bengal poet of the 18th century was Bhárat Chandra Rái, who died 1760. The son of a petty Rájá, he was driven from his home by the oppressions of the Rájá of Bardwán, and after many adventures and imprisonment, obtained the protection of the chief native officer of the French Settlement at Chandarnagar. The generosity of the Rájá of Nadiyá² afterwards raised him to comfort, and he devoted his life to three principal poems. His version of the *Bidyá Sundar* is a passionate love poem, and remains the accepted rendering of that tale to the present day. The goddess Kálí interposes at the end to save the life of the frail heroine. His other two principal poems, the *Annadá Mangal* and the *Mánsinha*, form continuations of the same work; and, like it, are devoted to the glorification of the queen of Siva under her various names.

With the printing press, and the Anglo-Indian School, arose

¹ Dae's *Literature of Bengal*, p. 147. (Calcutta, 1877.)

² Mr. Dae says, inadvertently, the Rájá of Bardwán.

a generation of Bengalis whose chief ambition is to live by the pen. The majority find their career in official, mercantile, or professional employment. But a large residue become writers of books; and Bengal is at present passing through a grand literary climacteric. Nearly 1300 works per annum are published in the vernacular languages of Lower Bengal alone. It is an invidious task to attempt to single out the most distinguished authors of our own day. Amid such a climax of literary activity, much inferior work is produced. But it is not too much to say that in poetry, philosophy, science, the novel and the drama, Bengali literature has, in this century, produced masterpieces without rivals in its previous history. In two departments it has struck out entirely new lines. Bengali prose practically dates from Rám Mohan Rái; and Bengali journalism is essentially the creation of the third quarter of the present century.¹

As Bengali poetry owed its rise in the 14th century, and its fresh impulse in the 16th, to outbursts of religious song; so Bengali prose is the offspring of the religious movement headed by the Rájá Rám Mohan Rái in the 19th. This great theistic reformer felt that his doctrines and arguments required a more serious vehicle than verse. When he died in 1833, he at once received the position of the father of Bengali prose,—a position which he still enjoys in the grateful memories of his countrymen.² Of scarcely less importance, however, in the creation of a good prose style, were two rival authors born in 1820. Akkhai Kumár Datta enforced the theistic doctrines of the Brahma Samáj with indefatigable ability in his religious journal, the *Tatwabodhiní Patriká*. Reprints of his articles still rank as text-books of standard Bengali prose. Iswar Chandra Vidyaságar, also born in 1820, devoted himself to social reform upon orthodox Hindu lines. The enforced celibacy of widows, and the abuses of polygamy, have formed the subject of his life-long attacks.

An older worker, Iswar Chandra Gupta, born 1809, took the lead in the modern popular poetry of Bengal. His fame has

¹ From no list of 19th century Bengali authors should the following names be omitted:—Rám Mohan Rái, Akkhai Kumár Datta, Iswar Chandra Vidyaságar, Iswar Chandra Gupta, Madhu Sudan Datta, Hem Chandra Banarji, Bankim Chandra Chattarji, Dino Bandhu Mitra, and Nabin Chandra Sen.

² Rájá Rám Mohan Rái (Rammohun Roy) is also well known for his English works, of which it is pleasant to record that a collected reprint is now appearing under the editorship of Babu Gogendra Chandra Ghose, M.A. (Calcutta, 1885).

Modern
Bengali
poets,
19th cen-
tury.

been eclipsed, however, by Madhu Sudan Datta, born 1828, who now ranks higher in the estimation of his countrymen than any Bengali poet of this or any previous age. Madhu Sudan's epic, the *Meghnad Badh Kavya*, is reckoned by Bengali critics as second only to the masterpieces of Válmiki, Kálidása, Homer, Dante, and Shakspeare. This generous appreciation is characteristic of the catholic spirit of Hinduism. For Madhu Sudan Datta became a Christian, lectured as professor in a Christian college, went to England, and returned to Bengal only to die, after a too brief career, in 1875. His epic relates the death of Meghnad or Indrajít, greatest of the sons of Ravana, and takes its materials from the well-known episode in the *Rámáyana*. Among Bengali poets still living, Hem Chandra Banarji occupies perhaps the highest place of honour.

Madhu
Sudan
Datta,
1828-1875.

The
Bengali
Drama.

In the Bengali drama, Dina Bandhu Mitra, born 1829, died 1873, led the way. His first and greatest work, the *Nil Darpan* or Mirror of Indigo, startled the community by its picture of the abuses of indigo planting a quarter of a century ago. It was translated into English by the well-known missionary and philanthropist, the Rev. James Long; and formed the ground of an action for libel, ending in the fine and imprisonment of the latter gentleman. In prose fiction, Bunkim Chandra Chattarji, born 1838, ranks first. The Bengali novel is essentially a creation of the last half century, and the *Durgesh Nandini* of this author has never been surpassed. But many new novelists, dramatists, and poets are now establishing their reputation in Bengal; and the force of the literary impulse given by the State School and the printing press seems still unabated. It is much to be regretted that so little of that intellectual activity has flowed into the channels of biography and critical history.

The mean-
ing of this
chapter.

This chapter has dealt at some length with the vernacular literature of India, because a right understanding of that literature is necessary for the comprehension of the chapters which follow. It concludes the part of the present book which treats of the struggle for India by the Asiatic races. In the next chapter the European nations come upon the scene. How they strove among themselves for the mastery will be briefly narrated. The conquest of India by any one of them formed a problem whose magnitude not one of them appreciated. The Portuguese spent the military resources of their country, and the religious enthusiasm of their Church, in the vain

attempt to establish an Indian dominion by the Inquisition and the Sword. This chapter has shown the strength and the extent of the indigenous civilisation which they thus ignorantly and unsuccessfully strove to overthrow.

Assaults
on the
indigenous
civilisation
of India.

The Indian races had themselves confronted the problems for which the Portuguese attempted to supply solutions from without. One religious movement after another had swept across India ; one philosophical school after another had presented its explanation of human existence and its hypothesis of a future life. A popular literature had sprung up in every Province. The Portuguese attempt to uproot these native growths, and to forcibly plant in their place an exotic civilisation and an exotic creed, was foredoomed to failure. From any such attempt the Dutch and the French wisely abstained. One secret of the success of the British power has been its non-interference with the customs and the religions of the people.

English
non-inter-
ference.

CHAPTER XIV.

EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS (1498 TO 18TH CENTURY A.D.).

The Portuguese in India. Vasco da Gama, 1498. THE Muhammadan invaders of India had entered from the north-west. Her Christian conquerors approached by sea from the south. From the time of Alexander to that of Vasco da Gama, Europe held little direct intercourse with the East. An occasional traveller brought back stories of powerful kingdoms and of untold wealth; but the passage by sea was scarcely dreamed of, and by land, wide deserts and warlike tribes lay between. Commerce, indeed, struggled overland and *viâ* the Red Sea; being carried on chiefly by the Italian cities on the Mediterranean, which traded to the ports of the Levant.¹ But to the Europeans of the 15th century, India was an unknown land, which powerfully attracted the imagination of spirits stimulated

¹ The following is a list of the most noteworthy early travellers to the East, from the 9th century to the establishment of the Portuguese as a conquering power in India in the 16th. The Arab geographers will be found in Sir Henry Elliot's first volumes of the *Indian Historians*. The standard European authority is *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, edited by Colonel Henry Yule, C.B., 2 vols., second edition, 1875. The author's best thanks are due to Colonel Yule for the assistance he has kindly afforded both here and in those articles of *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, which came within the scope of Colonel Yule's researches. The authorities for the more ancient travellers and Indian geographers are, as already stated, M'Crindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, his *Ktesias*, and his *Navigation of the Erythrean Sea*, which originally appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, and were republished by Messrs. Trübner. *The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean*, by Dr. William Vincent, Dean of Westminster (2 vols. quarto, 1807), may still be perused with interest, although Dr. Vincent's materials have been supplemented by fuller and more accurate knowledge. 883 A.D. King Alfred sends Sighelm of Sherburn to the shrine of Saint Thomas in 'India.' The site of the shrine is doubtful, see chap. ix. 851-916. Suláimán and Abu Zaid, whose travels furnished the *Relations* of Reinaud.

912-30. The geographer Mas'udi.

1159-73. Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela; visited Persian Gulf, reported on India.

1260-71. The brothers Nicolo and Maffeo Polo, father and uncle of Marco Polo; make their first trading venture through Central Asia.

by the renaissance, and ardent for discovery. The materials for this period have been collected by Sir George Birdwood in his admirable official *Report on the Old Records of the India Office* (1879), to which the following paragraphs are largely indebted. The history of the various European settlements will be found in greater detail, under their respective articles, in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

In 1492, Christopher Columbus sailed westwards under the Spanish flag to seek India beyond the Atlantic, bearing with him a letter to the great Khán of Tartary. He found America instead. An expedition under Vasco da Gama started from Lisbon five years later, in the opposite, or south-eastern, direction. It doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and cast anchor off the city of Calicut on the 20th May 1498, after a protracted voyage of nearly eleven months. An earlier Portuguese emissary, Covilham, had reached Calicut overland about 1487.

1271. They started on their second journey, accompanied by Marco Polo ; and about 1275, arrived at the Court of Kublai Khán in Shangtu, whence Marco Polo was entrusted with several missions to Cochin China, Khanbulig (Pekin). and the Indian Seas.

1292. Friar John of Monte Corvino, afterwards Archbishop of Pekin ; spent thirteen months in India on his way to China.

1304-78. Ibn Batuta, an Arab of Tangiers ; after many years in the East, attached himself to the Court of Muhammad Tughlak at Delhi, 1334-42, whence he was despatched on an Embassy to China.

1316-30. Odorico di Pordenone, a Minorite friar ; travelled in the East and through India by way of Persia, Bombay, and Surat (where he collected the bones of four missionaries martyred in 1321), to Malabar, the Coromandel coast, and thence to China and Tibet.

1328. Friar Jordanus of Severac, Bishop of Quilon.

1338-49. John de Marignolli, a Franciscan friar ; on his return from a mission to China, visited Quilon in 1347, and made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas in India in 1349.

1327-72. Sir John Mandeville ; wrote his travels in India (supposed to be the first printed English book, London, 1499) ; but beyond the Levant his travels are invented or borrowed.

1419-40. Nicolo Conti, a noble Venetian ; travelled throughout Southern India and along the Bombay coast.

1442-44. Abd-ur-Razzak ; during an embassy to India, visited Calicut, Mangalore, and Vijayanagar, where he was entertained in state by the Hindu sovereign of that kingdom.

1468-74. Athanasius Nikitin, a Russian ; travelled from the Volga, through Central Asia and Persia, to Gujarát, Cambay, and Chaul, whence he proceeded inland to Bídár and Golconda.

1494-99. Hieronimo di Santo Stefano, a Genoese ; visited the port of Malabár and the Coromandel coast as a merchant adventurer, and after proceeding to Ceylon and Pegu, sailed for Cambay.

1503-08. Travels of Ludovico di Varthema. In the *Hakluyt Series*.

State of
India on
arrival of
Portu-
guese.

From the first, Da Gama encountered hostility from the Moors, or rather Arabs, who monopolized the sea-borne trade; but he seems to have found favour with the Zamorin or Hindu Rájá of Malabar. An Afghán of the Lodí dynasty was then on the throne of Delhi, and another Afghán king was ruling over Bengal. Ahmadábád formed the seat of a Muhammadan dynasty in Gujarát. The five independent Muhammadan kingdoms of Ahmednagar, Bijápur, Elichpur, Golconda, and Bidar had partitioned out the Deccan. But the Hindu Rájá of Vijayanagar still ruled as paramount in the south, and was perhaps the most powerful monarch to be found at that time in India, not excepting the Lodí dynasty at Delhi.

Rájá of
Calicut's
letter,
1498.

After staying nearly six months on the Malabar coast, Da Gama returned to Europe, bearing with him the following letter from the Zamorin to the King of Portugal:—'Vasco da Gama, a nobleman of your household, has visited my kingdom and has given me great pleasure. In my kingdom there is abundance of cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper, and precious stones. What I seek from thy country is gold, silver, coral, and scarlet.' The safe arrival of Da Gama at Lisbon was celebrated with national rejoicings as enthusiastic as those which had greeted the return of Columbus. If the West Indies belonged to Spain by priority of discovery, Portugal might claim the East Indies by the same right. The Portuguese mind became intoxicated by dreams of a mighty oriental empire.

Portuguese
expedi-
tion, 1500.

The early Portuguese navigators were not traders or private adventurers, but admirals with a royal commission to conquer territory and to promote the spread of Christianity. A second expedition, consisting of thirteen ships and twelve hundred soldiers, under the command of Cabral, was despatched in 1500. 'The sum of his instructions was to begin with preaching, and if that failed, to proceed to the sharp determination of the sword.' On his outward voyage, Cabral was driven by stress of weather to the coast of Brazil. Ultimately he reached Calicut, and established factories both there and at Cochin, in spite of active hostilities from the natives.

Portuguese
supremacy
in eastern
seas, 1500-
1600.

In 1502, the King of Portugal obtained from Pope Alexander VI. a bull constituting him 'Lord of the Navigation, Conquests, and Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India.' In that year Vasco da Gama sailed again to the East, with a fleet numbering twenty vessels. He formed an alliance with the Rájás of Cochin and Cananore against the Zamorin of Calicut, and bombarded the latter in his palace. In 1503, the great Alfonso d'Albuquerque sailed to the East in command of

one of three expeditions from Portugal. In 1505, a large fleet of twenty-two sail and fifteen thousand men was sent under Francisco de Almeida, the first Portuguese Governor and Viceroy of India.

In 1509, Albuquerque succeeded as Governor, and widely extended the area of Portuguese influence. Having failed in an attack upon Calicut, he in 1510 seized Goa, which has since remained the capital of Portuguese India. Then, sailing round Ceylon, he captured Malacca, the key to the navigation of the Indian archipelago, and opened a trade with Siam and the Spice Islands. Lastly, he sailed back westwards, and after penetrating into the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, returned to Goa only to die in 1515. In 1524, Vasco da Gama came out to the East for the third time, and he too died at Cochin, in 1527. For exactly a century, from 1500 to 1600, the Portuguese enjoyed a monopoly of Oriental trade.¹ 'From Japan and the Spice Islands to the Red Sea and the Cape of Good Hope, they were the sole masters and dispensers of the treasures of the East; while their possessions along the Atlantic coast of Africa and in Brazil completed their maritime empire.'²

But the Portuguese had neither the political strength nor the personal character necessary to maintain such an Empire. Their national temper had been formed in their contest with the Moors at home. They were not traders, but knights-errant and crusaders, who looked on every pagan as an enemy of Portugal and of Christ. Only those who have read the contemporary narratives of their conquests, can realize the superstition and the cruelty with which their history in the Indies is stained.

Albuquerque alone endeavoured to conciliate the goodwill of the natives, and to live in friendship with the Hindu princes, who were naturally better pleased to have the Portuguese, as governed by him, for their neighbours and allies, than the Muhammadans whom he had expelled or subdued. The justice and magnanimity of his rule did as much to extend and confirm the power of the Portuguese in the East, as his courage and the success of his military achievements.

¹ For a full account of the Portuguese in India, and the curious phases of society which they developed, see article GOA, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Also for local notices, see articles DAMAN, DIU, BASSEIN, CALICUT.

² This and the following paragraphs are condensed from Sir George Birdwood's official *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records in the India Office*, dated 1st November 1878 (folio, 1879).

In such veneration was his memory held, that the Hindus of Goa, and even the Muhammadans, were wont to repair to his tomb, and there utter their complaints, as if in the presence of his shade, and call upon God to deliver them from the tyranny of his successors.

Later
Viceroys ;

their
bravery.

‘The cruelties of Soarez, Sequeyra, Menezes, Da Gama, and succeeding viceroys, drove the natives to desperation, and encouraged the princes of Western India in 1567 to form a league against the Portuguese, in which they were joined by the King of Achén.’ But the undisciplined Indian troops were unable to stand against the veteran soldiers of Portugal ; 200 of whom, at Malacca, routed 15,000 natives with artillery. When, in 1578, Malacca was again besieged by the King of Achén, the small Portuguese garrison destroyed 10,000 of his men, and all his cannon and junks. Twice again, in 1615 and for the last time in 1628, Malacca was besieged, and on each occasion the Achénese were repulsed with equal bravery. But the increased military forces sent out to resist these attacks proved an insupportable drain on the revenues and population of Portugal.

Spanish
influences,
1580.

In 1580, the Portuguese crown was united with that of Spain, under Philip II. This proved the ruin of the maritime and commercial supremacy of Portugal in the East. The interests of Portugal in Asia were henceforth subordinated to the European interests of Spain. In 1640, Portugal again became a separate kingdom. But in the meanwhile the Dutch and English had appeared in the Eastern Seas ; and before their indomitable competition, the Portuguese empire of the Indies withered away as rapidly as it had sprung up. The period of the highest development of Portuguese commerce was probably from 1590 to 1610 on the eve of the subversion of their commercial power by the Dutch, and when their political administration in India was at its lowest depth of degradation. At this period a single fleet of Portuguese merchantmen sailing from Goa to Cambay or Surat would number as many as 150 or 250 *carracks*. Now, only one Portuguese ship sails from Lisbon to Goa in the year.¹

Downfall
of Portu-
guese in
India,
1639-1739.

The Dutch besieged Goa in 1603, and again in 1639. Both attacks were unsuccessful on land ; but the Portuguese were gradually driven off the sea. In 1683, the Maráthás plundered to the gates of Goa. The further history of the Portuguese in India is a miserable chronicle of pride, poverty, and sounding

¹ Reproduced, without verification, from Sir George Birdwood’s Report, p. 70.

titles. The native princes pressed upon them from the land. On the sea they gave way to more vigorous European nations.

The only remaining Portuguese possessions in India are Goa, Damán, and Diu, all on the west coast, with a total area of 2365 square miles, and a total population of 475,172 in 1881.¹ The general Census of 1871 also returned 426 Portuguese in British India, not including those of mixed descent. About 30,000 of the latter are found in Bombay ('Portuguese' half-castes), and 20,000 in Bengal, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Dacca and Chittagong. The latter are known as Firinghis; and, excepting that they retain the Roman Catholic faith and European surnames, they are scarcely to be distinguished either by colour, language, or habits of life from the natives among whom they live.

Portuguese Possessions in 1881.

Mixed descendants.

The Dutch were the first European nation who broke through the Portuguese monopoly. During the 16th century, Bruges, Antwerp, and Amsterdam became successively the great emporiums whence Indian produce, imported by the Portuguese, was distributed to Germany, and even to England. At first the Dutch, following in the track of the English, attempted to find their way to India by sailing round the northern coast of Europe and Asia. William Barents is honourably known as the leader of three of these arctic expeditions, in the last of which he perished.

The Dutch in India, 1602-1824.

The first Dutchman to double the Cape of Good Hope was Cornelius Houtman, who reached Sumatra and Bantam in 1596. Forthwith private companies for trade with the East were formed in many parts of the United Provinces; but in 1602 they were all amalgamated by the States-General into 'The Dutch East India Company.' Within fifty years the Dutch had established factories on the continent of

Dutch India Companies.

¹ This number, 475,172, is the 'actual' population of all the Portuguese Settlements in India, as shown in the General Statement No. 1 of the Census of Portuguese India, taken on the 17th February 1881. The same table shows the 'nominal' population at 481,467. Both these returns differ somewhat from the totals obtained from the detailed tables showing the males and females, age, and civil condition of the people. Thus, the total obtained for Goa is 444,449 from the detailed statements, while the General Statement No. 1 of the Portuguese Settlements shows an 'actual' population for Goa of 413,698 and a 'nominal' population of 420,868. Similar differences on a smaller scale may be detected in the general and detailed statements of the Settlement of Damán. In both cases, the separate articles in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* follow the detailed tables of male and female, age, and civil condition; while in general statements of population for Portuguese India, the general totals issued under the authority of the Portuguese Government are accepted.

Their
progress,
1619.

India, in Ceylon, in Sumatra, in the Persian Gulf, and in the Red Sea, besides having obtained exclusive possession of the Moluccas. In 1619 they laid the foundation of the city of Batavia in Java, as the seat of the supreme government of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, which had previously been at Amboyna. At about the same time the Dutch discovered the coast of Australia; while in North America they founded the city of New Amsterdam or Manhattan, now New York.

Dutch
supremacy
in eastern
seas, 1600-
1700.

During the 17th century the Dutch were the foremost maritime power in the world. Their memorable massacre of the English at Amboyna, in 1623, forced the British Company to retire from the Eastern Archipelago to the continent of India, and thus led to the foundation of our Indian Empire. The long naval wars and bloody battles between the English and the Dutch within the narrow seas were not terminated until William of Orange united the two countries in 1689. In the Eastern Archipelago the Dutch ruled without a rival, and expelled the Portuguese from almost all their territorial possessions. In 1635 they occupied Formosa; in 1640 they took Malacca, a blow from which the Portuguese never recovered; in 1647 they were trading at Sadras, on the Pálár river; in 1651 they founded a colony at the Cape of Good Hope, as a half-way station to the East; in 1652 they built their first Indian factory at Pálakollu, on the Madras coast; in 1658 they captured Jaffnapatam, the last stronghold of the Portuguese in Ceylon. Between 1661 and 1664 the Dutch wrested from the Portuguese all their earlier settlements on the pepper-bearing coast of Malabar; and in 1669 they expelled the Portuguese from St. Thomé and Macassar.

Their
brilliant
progress,
1635-69.

Their
short-
sighted
policy.

The fall of the Dutch colonial empire resulted from its short-sighted commercial policy. It was deliberately based upon a monopoly of the trade in spices, and remained from first to last destitute of sound economical principles. Like the Phœnicians of old, the Dutch stopped short of no acts of cruelty towards their rivals in commerce; but, unlike the Phœnicians, they failed to introduce their civilisation among the natives with whom they came in contact. The knell of Dutch supremacy was sounded by Clive, when in 1759 he attacked the Dutch at Chinsurah both by land and water, and forced them to an ignominious capitulation. In the great French wars from 1793 to 1811, England wrested from Holland every one of her colonies; although Java was restored in 1816, and Sumatra exchanged for Malacca in 1824.

Stripped
of their
Indian
pos-
sessions,
1759-1811.

At present, the Dutch flag flies nowhere on the mainland of India. But quaint houses, Dutch tiles and carvings, at Chinsurah, Negapatam, Jaffnapatam, and at petty ports on the Coromandel and Malabar coast, with the formal canals in some of these old Settlements, remind the traveller of scenes in the Netherlands. The passage between Ceylon and the mainland still bears the name of the Dutch governor, Palk. In the Census of 1872, only 70 Dutchmen were enumerated throughout all British India, and 79 in 1881.¹

The earliest English attempts to reach India were made by the North-west passage. In 1496, Henry VII. granted letters patent to John Cabot and his three sons (one of whom was the famous Sebastian) to fit out two ships for the exploration of this route. They failed, but discovered the island of Newfoundland, and sailed along the coast of America from Labrador to Virginia. In 1553, the ill-fated Sir Hugh Willoughby attempted to force a passage along the north of Europe and Asia, the successful accomplishment of which has been reserved for a Swedish savant of our own day. Sir Hugh perished miserably; but his second in command, Chancellor, reached a harbour on the White Sea, now Archangel. Thence he penetrated by land to the court of the Grand Duke of Moscow, and laid the foundation of 'the Russia Company for carrying on the overland trade between India, Persia, Bokhara, and Moscow.'

Many English attempts were made to find a North-west passage to the East Indies, from 1576 to 1616. They have left on our modern maps the imperishable names of Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Baffin. Meanwhile, in 1577, Sir Francis Drake had circumnavigated the globe, and on his way home had touched at Ternate, one of the Moluccas, the king of which island agreed to supply the English nation with all the cloves which it produced.

The first modern Englishman known to have visited the Indian Peninsula was Thomas Stephens, in 1579. William of Malmesbury states, indeed, that in 883 Sighelmus of Sherborne, sent by King Alfred to Rome with presents to the Pope, proceeded thence to 'India,' to the tomb of St. Thomas, and brought back jewels and spices. But, as already pointed out, it by no means follows that the 'India' of William of

¹ For local notices of the Dutch in India, see articles SADRAS, PALAKOLLU, CHINSURAH, NEGAPATAM, PALK'S PASSAGE, etc., in their respective volumes of *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

Malmesbury meant the Indian peninsula. Stephens (1579) was educated at New College, Oxford, and became rector of the Jesuit College in Salsette. His letters to his father are said to have roused great enthusiasm in England to trade directly with India.

Fitch,
Newberry,
Leedes,
1583.

In 1583, three English merchants, Ralph Fitch, James Newberry, and Leedes, went out to India overland as mercantile adventurers. The jealous Portuguese threw them into prison at Ormuz, and again at Goa. At length Newberry settled down as a shopkeeper at Goa; Leedes entered the service of the Great Moghal; and Fitch, after a lengthened peregrination in Ceylon, Bengal, Pegu, Siam, Malacca, and other parts of the East Indies, returned to England.¹

The defeat of the 'Invincible Armada' in 1588, at which time the crowns of Spain and Portugal were in union, gave a fresh stimulus to maritime enterprise in England; and the successful voyage of Cornelius Houtman in 1596 showed the way round the Cape of Good Hope, into waters hitherto monopolized by the Portuguese.

English
East India
Com-
panies.

The following paragraph on the early history of the English East India Companies is condensed, with little change, from Sir George Birdwood's official report.² In 1599, the Dutch, who had now firmly established their trade in the East, raised the price of pepper against us from 3s. per lb. to 6s. and 8s. The merchants of London held a meeting on the 22nd September at Founders' Hall, with the Lord Mayor in the chair, and agreed to form an association for the purposes of trading directly with India. Queen Elizabeth also sent Sir John Mildenhall by Constantinople to the Great Moghal to apply for privileges for an English Company. On the 31st December 1600,³ the English East India Company was incorporated by royal charter under the title of 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies.' The original Company had only 125 shareholders, and a capital of £70,000, which was raised to £400,000 in 1612-13, when voyages were first undertaken on the joint-stock account.

First
charter,
31st De-
cember
1600.

Courten's Association, known as 'The Assada Merchants,' from a factory subsequently founded by it in Madagascar, was

¹ Condensed from *Report on Old Records in the India Office*, pp. 75-77.

² Condensed from *Report on Old Records in the India Office*, pp. 77 et seq.

³ Auber gives the date as the 30th December, *Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company*, by Peter Auber, Assistant-Secretary to the Honourable Court of Directors, p. ix. (London, 1826).

established in 1635, but, after a period of internecine rivalry, Later was united with the London Company in 1650. In 1654-55, ^{com-} the 'Company of Merchant Adventurers' obtained a charter ^{panies,} 1635, from Cromwell to trade with India, but united with the 1655, original Company two years later. A more formidable rival subsequently appeared in the English Company, or 'General Society trading to the East Indies,' which was incorporated under powerful patronage in 1698, with a capital of 2 millions 1698, sterling. According to Evelyn, in his *Diary* for March 5, 1698, 'the old East India Company lost their business against the new Company by 10 votes in Parliament; so many of their friends being absent, going to see a tiger baited by dogs.' However, a compromise was effected through the arbitration of Lord Godolphin¹ in 1708; by which the amalgamation of 1708, the 'London' and the 'English' Companies was finally carried Amalga- out in 1709, under the style of 'The United Company of mated Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.' About 1709, the same time, the Company advanced loans to the English Government aggregating £3,200,000 at 5 per cent. interest, in return for the exclusive privilege to trade to all places between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan.²

The early voyages of the Company from 1600 to 1612 are English distinguished as the 'separate voyages,' twelve in number. ^{Voyages,} 1600-12. The subscribers individually bore the expenses of each voyage, and reaped the whole profits. With the exception of the fourth, all these separate voyages were highly prosperous, the profits hardly ever falling below 100 per cent. After 1612, the voyages were conducted on the joint-stock account.

The English were promptly opposed by the Portuguese. ^{First} But James Lancaster, even in the first voyage (1601-2), ^{English} established commercial relations with the King of Achin and ^{voyages,} 1601-06. at Priaman in the island of Sumatra; as well as with the Malaccas, and at Bantam in Java, where he settled a 'House of Trade' in 1603. In 1604 the Company undertook their second voyage, commanded by Sir Henry Middleton, who extended their trade to Banda and Amboyna. The success of these voyages attracted a number of private merchants to the business; and in 1606, James I. granted a licence to Sir Edward Michelborne and others to trade 'to Cathay, China, Japan, Corea, and Cambaya.' But Michelborne, on arriving

¹ Under the award of Lord Godolphin, by the Act of the 6th of Queen Anne, in 1708, cap. 17. Auber's *Analysis*, p. xi.

² Mill, *Hist. Brit. Ind.*, vol. i. p. 151 (ed. 1840). Auber gives a detailed statement of these loans, from 1708 to 1793; *Analysis*, p. xi. etc.

in the East, instead of exploring new sources of commerce like the East India Company, followed the pernicious example of the Portuguese, and plundered the native traders among the islands of the Indian Archipelago. He in this way secured a considerable booty, but brought disgrace on the British name, and seriously hindered the Company's business at Bantam.

Voyages,
1608-11.

In 1608, Captain D. Middleton, in command of the fifth voyage, was prevented by the Dutch from trading at Banda, but succeeded in obtaining a cargo at Pulo Way. In this year also, Captain Hawkins proceeded from Surat, as envoy from James I. and the East India Company, to the court of the Great Moghal. He was graciously received by the Emperor (Jahángir), and remained three years at Agra. In 1609, Captain Sharpay obtained the grant of free trade at Aden, and a cargo of pepper at Priaman in Sumatra. In 1609, also, the Company constructed the dockyard at Deptford, which was the beginning, observes Sir William Monson, 'of the increase of great ships in England.' In 1611, Sir Henry Middleton, in command of the sixth voyage, arrived before Cambay. He resolutely fought the Portuguese, who tried to beat him off, and obtained important concessions from the Native Powers. In 1610-11, also, Captain Hippon, commanding the seventh voyage, established agencies at Masulipatam, and in Siam, at Patania or Patany on the Malay Peninsula, and at Pettipollee. We obtained leave to trade at Surat in 1612.

Swally
fight,
1615.

In 1615, the Company's fleet, under Captain Best, was attacked off Swally, the port of Surat, at the mouth of the river Tápti, by an overwhelming force of Portuguese.¹ But the assailants were utterly defeated in four engagements, to the astonishment of the natives, who had hitherto considered them invincible. The first-fruit of this decisive victory was the pre-eminence of our factory at Surat, with subordinate agencies at Gogra, Ahmadábád, and Cambay. Trade was also opened with the Persian Gulf. In 1614, an agency was established at Ajmere by Mr. Edwards of the Surat factory. The chief seat of the Company's government in Western India remained at Surat until 1684-87, when it was transferred to Bombay.²

¹ For this date and account of the engagement, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, SURAT and BROACH, vol. ii. pp. 77, 78 (Bombay Government Press, 1877).

² Orders issued, 1684; transfer commenced, 1686; actually carried out, 1687. *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. ii. p. 98.

In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe was sent by James I. as ambassador to the court of Jahángír, and succeeded in placing the Company's trade in the Mughal dominions on a more favourable footing. In 1618, the English established a factory at Mocha; but the Dutch compelled them to resign all pretensions to the Spice Islands. In that year also, the Company failed in its attempt to open a trade with Dabhol, Baticola, and Calicut, through a want of sincerity on the part of the Zamorin or Calicut Rájá. In 1619 we were permitted to establish a factory and build a fort at Jask, in the Persian Gulf.

In 1619, the 'Treaty of Defence' with the Dutch, to prevent disputes between the English and Dutch companies, was ratified. When it was proclaimed in the East, the Dutch and English fleets, dressed out in all their flags, and with yards manned, saluted each other. But the treaty ended in the smoke of that stately salutation, and the perpetual strife between the Dutch and English Companies went on as bitterly as ever. Up to this time, the English Company did not possess any territory in sovereign right in the 'Indies,' excepting in the island of Lantore or Great Banda. The island was governed by a commercial agent of the Company, who had under him thirty Europeans as clerks and warehousemen. This little band, with two hundred and fifty armed Malays, constituted the only force by which it was protected. In the islands of Banda and Pulo Roon and Rosengyn, the English Company had factories, at each of which were ten agents. At Macassar and Achín they possessed agencies; the whole being subordinate to a head factory at Bantam in Java.

In 1620, the Dutch, notwithstanding the Treaty of Defence, concluded the previous year, expelled the English from Pulo Roon and Lantore; and in 1621 from Bantam in Java. The fugitive factors tried to establish themselves, first at Pulicat, and afterwards at Masulipatam on the Coromandel coast, but were effectually opposed by the Dutch. In 1620, the Portuguese also attacked the English fleet under Captain Shillinge, but were defeated with great loss. From this time the estimation in which the Portuguese were held by the natives declined, while that of the English rose. In 1620, too, the English Company established agencies at Agra and Patná. In 1622 they joined with the Persians, attacked and took Ormuz from the Portuguese, and obtained from Sháh Abbas a grant in perpetuity of the customs of Gombroon. This was the first time that the English took the offensive against the Portuguese.

Sir
Thomas
Roe, 1615

Treaty
with
Dutch,
1619.

English
attacked
by Dutch,
1620.

Masulipatam factory, 1622. In the same year, 1622, our Company succeeded in re-establishing their factory at Masulipatam.

The massacre of Amboyna, 1623. The massacre of Amboyna, which made so deep an impression on the English mind, marked the climax of the Dutch hatred to us in the eastern seas. After long and bitter recriminations, the Dutch seized our Captain Towerson at Amboyna, with 9 Englishmen, 9 Japanese, and 1 Portuguese sailor, on the 17th February 1623. They tortured the prisoners at their trial, and found them guilty of a conspiracy to surprise the garrison. The victims were executed in the heat of passion, and their torture and judicial murder led to an outburst of indignation in England. Ultimately, commissioners were appointed to adjust the claims of the two nations; and the Dutch had to pay a sum of £3615 as satisfaction to the heirs of those who had suffered. But from that time the Dutch remained masters of Lantore and the neighbouring islands. They monopolized the whole trade of the Indian Archipelago, until the great naval wars which commenced in 1793. In 1624, the English, unable to oppose the Dutch, withdrew nearly all their factories from the Archipelago, the Malay Peninsula, Siam, and Java. Some of the factors and agents retired to the island of Lagundy, in the Strait of Sunda, but were forced by its unhealthiness to abandon it.

English driven out of Archipelago, 1624.

English retire to India, 1625.

Their early factories, 1625-53.

Trade to Bengal, 1634.

Driven out of the Eastern Archipelago by the Dutch, and thus almost cut off from the lucrative spice trade, the English betook themselves in earnest to founding settlements on the Indian seaboard. In 1625-26, the English established a factory at Armagáon on the Coromandel coast, subordinate to Masulipatam.¹ But in 1628, Masulipatam was, in consequence of the oppressions of the native governors, for a time abandoned in favour of Armagáon, which now mounted 12 guns, and had 23 factors and agents. In 1629, our factory at Bantam in Java was re-established as an agency subordinate to Surat; and in 1630, Armagáon, reinforced by 20 soldiers, was also placed under the presidency of Surat. In 1632, the English factory was re-established at Masulipatam, under a grant, the 'Golden Firman,' from the King of Golconda. In 1634, by a *farmán* dated February 2, the Company obtained from the Great Mughal liberty to trade in Bengal. But their ships were to resort only to Pippli

¹ These brief chronological abstracts follow, with a few omissions, additions and corrections of dates, Sir George Birdwood's official *Report on the Old Records in the India Office* (folio), p. 83. For notices of the Indian towns mentioned, see the articles in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

in Orissa, now left far inland by the sea. The Portuguese were in the same year expelled for a time from Bengal.

In 1634-35, the English factory at Bantam in Java was again raised to an independent presidency, and an agency was established at Tatta, or 'Scindy.' In 1637, Courten's Association (chartered 1635) settled agencies at Goa, Baticola, Kárwár, Achín, and Rájápur. Its ships had the year before plundered some native vessels at Surat and Diu. This act disgraced the Company with the Mughal authorities (who could not comprehend the distinction between the Company and the Association), and depressed the English trade with Surat, while that of the Dutch proportionately increased.

In 1638, Armagáon was abandoned as unsuited for commerce; and in 1639, Fort St. George or Madraspatnam (Chennapatnam)¹ was founded by Francis Day, and the factors at Armagáon were removed to it. It was made subordinate to Bantam in Java, until raised in 1653 to the rank of a Presidency. In 1640, the Company established an agency at Bussorah, and a factory at Kárwár. Trade having much extended, the Company's yard at Deptford was found too small for their ships, and they purchased some copyhold ground at Blackwall, which at that time was a waste marsh, without an inhabitant. Here they opened another dockyard, in which was built the *Royal George*, of 1200 tons, the largest ship up to that time constructed in England.

Our factory at Húglí in Bengal was established in 1640, and at Balasor in 1642. In 1645, in consequence of professional services rendered by Mr. Gabriel Boughton, surgeon of the *Hopewell*, to the Emperor Sháh Jahán, additional privileges were granted to the Company; and in 1646, the Governor of Bengal, who had also been medically attended by Boughton, made concessions which placed the factories at Balasor and Húglí on a more favourable footing. In 1647, Courten's Association established its colony at Assada, in Madagascar. In 1652, Cromwell declared war against the Dutch on account of their accumulated injuries against the English Company. In 1653, the English factory at Lucknow was withdrawn. No record has been found of its establishment. In 1658, the Company established a factory at Kásimbázár (spelt 'Castle Bazaar' in the records), and the English establishments in

¹ Bishop Caldwell derives Madras from the Telugu *maduru*, the surrounding wall of a fort. Its native name is obtained from Chennappa, the father-in-law of the Nayakkur or Chief of Chinglepat. *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 10 (ed. 1875).

Bengal were made subordinate to Fort St. George or Madras, instead of to Bantam.

Bombay ceded, 1661. In 1661, Bombay was ceded to the British crown as part of the dower of Catharine of Braganza, but was not delivered up until 1665. King Charles II. transferred it to the East India Company, for an annual payment of £10, in 1668. The seat of the Western Presidency was removed to it from Surat in 1684-87. The Company's establishments in the East Indies then consisted in 1685 of the Presidency of Bantam in Java, with its dependencies of Jambí, Macassar, and minor agencies in the Indian Archipelago; Fort St. George and its dependent factories on the Coromandel coast and Bengal; Surat, with its affiliated dependency of Bombay; and factories at Broach, Ahmadábád, and other places in Western India; also at Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) and Bussorah in the Persian Gulf and Euphrates valley. In 1661, the factory at Biliapatam was founded. In 1663, the English factories established at Patná, Balasor, and Kásimbázár were ordered to be discontinued, and purchases to be made only at Húglí. In 1664, Surat was pillaged by the Maráthá Sivají, but Sir George Oxenden bravely defended the English factory; and the Mughal Emperor, in admiration of his conduct, granted the Company an exemption from customs for one year.

Bengal separated from Madras, 1681. In 1681, Bengal was separated from Madras, and Mr. Hodges appointed 'agent and governor' of the Company's affairs 'in the Bay of Bengal, and of the factories subordinate to it, at Kásimbázár, Patná, Balasor, Maldah, and Dacca. A corporal of approved fidelity, with 20 soldiers, to be a guard to the agent's person at the factory of Húglí, and to act against interlopers.' In 1684, Sir John Child was made 'Captain-General and Admiral of India;' and Sir John Wyborne, 'Vice-Admiral and Deputy Governor of Bombay.'

Bombay a Presidency, 1687. In 1687, the seat of the Presidency was finally transferred from Surat to Bombay. In 1686, Kásimbázár, in common with the other English factories in Bengal, had been condemned to confiscation by the Nawáb Shaistá Khán. The Húglí factory was much oppressed, and the Company's business throughout India suffered from the wars of the Mughals and Maráthás.

'Governor-General.' Sir John Child was appointed 'Governor-General,'¹ with full power in India to make war or peace; and was ordered to

¹ Sir George Birdwood's *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, p. 85, quotes this title from the MSS. It is therefore, nominally, a century older than is usually supposed; but Hastings was the first real Governor-General, 1774.

proceed to inspect the Company's possessions in Madras and Bengal, and arrange for their safety. On the 20th of December 1686, the Company's Agent and Council were forced by the exactions of the Muhammadan Governor to quit their factory at Húglí. They retired down the river to Sutanati (Calcutta). Tegnapatam (Fort St. David) was founded in this year (1686), and definitively established in 1691-92.

Calcutta
founded,
1686.

In 1687-88, the Company's servants, broken in spirit by the oppressions of the native Viceroy, determined to abandon their factories in Bengal. In 1688, Captain Heath of the *Resolution*, in command of the Company's forces, embarked all its servants and goods, sailed down the Húglí, and anchored off Balasor on the Orissa coast. They were, however, soon invited to return by the Emperor, who granted them the site of the present city of Calcutta for a fortified factory. In 1689, our factories at Vizagapatam and Masulipatam on the Madras coast were seized by the Muhammadans, and the factors were massacred.

English
resolve
to quit
Bengal,
1687-88.

But in this same year, the Company determined to consolidate their position in India on the basis of territorial sovereignty, to enable them to resist the oppression of the Mughals and Maráthás. With that view, they passed the resolution, which was destined to turn their clerks and factors throughout India into conquerors and proconsuls: 'The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade; 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India. Without that we are but a great number of interlopers, united by His Majesty's royal charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us. And upon this account it is that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices that we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade.' The subsequent history of the English East India Company and its settlements will be narrated in the next chapter.

The Com-
pany em-
barks on
territorial
sway,
1689.

The Portuguese at no time attempted to found a Company, but kept their eastern trade as a royal enterprise and monopoly. The first incorporated Company was the English, established in 1600, which was quickly followed by the Dutch in 1602. The Dutch conquests, however, were made in the name of the State, and ranked as national colonies, not as semi-commercial

Other
'East
India
Com-
panies.'

French ; possessions. Next came the French, whose first East India Company was founded in 1604; the second, in 1611; the third, in 1615; the fourth (Richelieu's), in 1642; the fifth (Colbert's), in 1644. The sixth was formed by the union of the French East and West India, Senegal, and China Companies under the name of 'The Company of the Indies,' in 1719. The exclusive privileges of this Company were, by the French king's decree, suspended in 1769; and the Company was finally abolished by the National Assembly in 1796.

French possessions. Dupleix, the governor of the French factories and possessions on the Madras coast, first conceived the idea of founding an Indian Empire upon the ruins of the Mughal dynasty; and for a time the French nation successfully contended with the English for the supremacy in the East. The French settlements in India are still five in number, with an area of 203 square miles, and a population of 273,611 souls. The brilliant history of our great national rivals is summarized under the article FRENCH POSSESSIONS in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. iv. (2nd edition).

Danish ; The first Danish East India Company was formed in 1612, and the second in 1670. The settlements of Tranquebar and Serampur were both founded in 1616, and acquired by the English by purchase from Denmark in 1845. Other Danish settlements on the mainland of India were Porto Novo; with Eddova and Holcheri on the Malabar coast. The Company
 Scotch ; started by the Scotch in 1695 may be regarded as having been still-born. The 'Royal Company of the Philippine
 Spanish ; Islands,' incorporated by the King of Spain in 1733, had little to do with India proper.

German, or Ostend Company. Of more importance was 'The Ostend Company,' incorporated by the Emperor of Austria in 1722;¹ its factors and agents being chiefly persons who had served in the Dutch and English Companies. This enterprise forms the subject of Carlyle's 'Third Shadow Hunt' of the Emperor Karl vi.² 'The Kaiser's Imperial Ostend East India Company, which convulsed the diplomatic mind for seven years to come, and made Europe lurch from side to side in a terrific manner, proved a mere paper Company; never sent ships, only produced Diplomacies, and "had the honour to be."' Carlyle's

Described by Carlyle.

¹ The deed of institution is dated 17th December 1722.

² *History of Friedrich II. of Prussia, called Frederick the Great*, by Thomas Carlyle, vol. i. pp. 555-557 (3rd ed. 1859).

picturesque paragraphs do not disclose the facts. The Ostend Company formed the one great attempt of the German Empire, then with Austria at its head, to secure a share of the India trade. It not only sent ships, but it founded two settlements in India which threatened the commerce of the older European Companies. One of its settlements was at Coblom or Covelong, between the English Madras and the Dutch Sadras, on the south-eastern coast. The other was at Bankipur, or 'Banky-bazaar,' on the Húglí River, between the English Calcutta and the Dutch Chinsura. Each of these German settlements was regarded with hatred by the English and Dutch; and with a more intense fear by the less successful French, whose adjacent settlements at Pondicherry on the Madras coast, and at Chandarnagar on the Húglí, were also threatened by the Ostend Company.

Its Indian settlements.

Threatening attitude of the Ostend Company.

So far from the German association being 'a mere paper Company' never sending ships, as Carlyle supposes, its formation was the result of a series of successful experimental voyages. In 1717, Prince Eugene ordered two vessels to sail for India, under the protection of his own passports. The profits of the expedition led to others in succeeding years, and each voyage proved so fortunate, that the Austrian Emperor found it necessary to protect and consolidate the property of the adventurers by a charter in 1722. This deed granted to the Ostend Company more favourable terms than any of the other European Companies enjoyed. Its capital was one million sterling, and so great were the profits during its first years that its shares brought in 15 per cent. The French, Dutch, and English Companies loudly complained of its factories, built at their very doors, both on the Húglí River and on the Madras coast. These complaints were warmly taken up by their respective Governments in Europe.

Its experimental voyages, 1717-22.

Their great success.

For the object which the Emperor Karl VI. had in view was political not less than commercial. Prince Eugene had urged that an India Company might be made to form the nucleus of a German fleet, with a first-class naval station at Ostend on the North Sea, and another at Fiume or Trieste on the Adriatic. Such a fleet would complete the greatness of Germany by sea as by land; and would render her independent of the Maritime Powers, especially of England and Holland. The Empire would at length put its ports on the Baltic and the Adriatic to a proper use, and would thenceforth exert a commanding maritime influence in Europe.

Political objects of Ostend Company.

The existing Maritime Powers objected to this; and the

Ostend Company opposed by the Maritime Powers ; Ostend Company became the shuttlecock of European diplomacy for the next five years. The Dutch and English felt themselves particularly aggrieved. They pleaded the treaties of Westphalia and Utrecht. After long and loud altercations, the Emperor sacrificed the Ostend Company in 1727 to gain the acceptance of a project nearer his heart—the Pragmatic Sanction for the devolution of his Imperial heritage. To save his honour, the sacrifice at first took the form of a suspension of the Company's charter for seven years. But the Company was doomed by the Maritime Powers. Its shareholders did not, however, despair. They made attempts to transfer their European centre of trade to Hamburg, Trieste, Tuscany, and even Sweden.

and sacrificed to the Pragmatic Sanction, 1727.

Ostend settlement destroyed, 1733 ; Meanwhile the other European Companies in Bengal had taken the law into their own hands. They stirred up the Muhammadan Government against the new-comers. In 1733, the Muhammadan military governor of Húglí picked a quarrel, in the name of the Delhi Emperor, with the little German settlement at Bankipur, which lay about eight miles below Húglí town on the opposite side of the river. The Muhammadan troops besieged Bankipur ; and the garrison, reduced to fourteen persons, after a despairing resistance against overwhelming numbers, abandoned the place, and set sail for Europe. The Ostend agent lost his right arm by a cannon ball during the attack ; and the Ostend Company, together with the German interests which it represented, became thenceforward merely a name in Bengal. Its chief settlement, Bankipur or 'Banky-bazaar,' has long disappeared from the maps ; and the author could only trace its existence from a chart of the last century, aided by the records of that period, and by personal inquiry on the spot.¹ The Ostend Company, however, still prolonged its existence in Europe. After a miserable struggle, it became bankrupt in 1784 ; and was finally extinguished by the arrangements made at the renewal of the English East India Company's charter in 1793.

and disappeared from the map.

Ostend Company bankrupt, 1784 ; and extinguished, 1793. Prussian Companies.

What the Emperor of Austria had failed to effect, Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, resolved to accomplish. Having got possession of East Friesland in 1744, he tried to convert

¹ There is an interesting series of MSS. labelled *The Ostenders* in the India Office. See also the Abbé Raynal's *History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, Book v. (pp. 176-182, vol. ii. of the 1776 edition) ; and the article BANKIPUR on the Húglí in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

its capital, Embden, into a great northern port. Among other measures, he gave his royal patronage to the Asiatic Trading Company, started 1st September 1750, and founded the *Bengalische Handelsgesellschaft* on the 24th January 1753.¹ The first of these Companies had a capital of £170,625; but six ships sent successively to China only defrayed their own expenses, and yielded a profit of 10 per cent. in seven years. The Bengal Company of Embden proved still more unfortunate; its existence was summed up in two expeditions which did not pay, and a long and costly lawsuit.²

The failure of Frederick the Great's efforts to secure for Prussia a share in the India trade, resulted to some extent from the jealousy of the rival European Companies in India. The Dutch, French, and English pilots refused to show the way up the dangerous Húglí river to the Embden ships, 'or any other not belonging to powers already established in India.'³ It is due to the European Companies to state that in thus refusing pilots to the new-comers, they were carrying out the orders of the Native Government of Bengal to which they were then strictly subject. 'If the Germans come here,' the Nawáb had written to the English merchants on a rumour of the first Embden expedition reaching India, 'it will be very bad for all the Europeans, but for you worst of all, and you will afterwards repent it; and I shall be obliged to stop all your trade and business. . . . Therefore take care that these German ships do not come.'⁴ 'God forbid that they should come,' was the pious response of the President of the English Council; 'but should this be the case, I am in hopes they will be either sunk, broke, or destroyed.'

They came nevertheless, and some years later the English Court of Directors complain that their Bengal servants are anxious to trade privately with the Embden Company. 'If any of the Prussian ships,' wrote the Court, 'want the usual assistance of water, provisions, or real necessities, they are to be supplied according to the customs of nations in amity one with the other. But you are on no pretence whatsoever to

¹ These dates are taken from Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*, vol. iv. pp. 367, 368 (ed. 1864). Carlyle's account of the Embden Companies is unfortunately of slight historical value.

² The commercial details of these Companies are given by the Abbé Raynal, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 201, 202.

³ Despatch from the Calcutta Council to the Court of Directors, dated 6th September 1754, para. 11.

⁴ Letter from the Nawáb of Murshidábád: Bengal Consultations of 19th August 1751.

have any dealings with them, or give the least assistance in their mercantile affairs.'¹ The truth is that the German Company had effected an entrance into Bengal, and found the French, English, and Dutch merchants quite willing to trade with it on their private account. But the German investments were made without experience, and the Embden Company was before long sacrificed by the Prussian king to the exigencies of his European diplomacy.

Frederick
sacrifices
the Com-
pany.

Swedish
Company,
1731.

The last nation of Europe to engage in maritime trade with India was Sweden. When the Ostend Company was suspended, a number of its servants were thrown out of employment. Mr. Henry Köning, of Stockholm, took advantage of their knowledge of the East, and obtained a charter for the 'Swedish Company,' dated 13th June 1731. This Company was reorganized in 1806, but did little; and after many troubles, disappeared from India.

Causes of
failure :
of the
Portu-
guese ;

of the
Dutch ;

of the
French.

Such is a summary of the efforts by European nations to obtain a share in the India trade. The Portuguese failed, because they attempted a task altogether beyond their strength; the conquest and the conversion of India. Their memorials are the epic of the *Lusiad*, the death-roll of the Inquisition, an indigent half-caste population, and three decayed patches of territory on the Bombay coast. The Dutch failed on the Indian continent, because their trade was based on a monopoly which it was impossible to maintain, except by great and costly armaments. Their monopoly, however, still flourishes in their isolated island dominion of Java. The French failed, in spite of the brilliancy of their arms and the genius of their generals, from want of steady support at home. Their ablest Indian servants fell victims to a corrupt Court and a careless people. Their surviving settlements disclose that talent for careful administration which, but for French monarchs and their ministers and their mistresses, might have been displayed throughout a wide Indian Empire.

Causes of
failure of
the Ger-
mans.

The German Companies, whether Austrian or Prussian, were sacrificed to the diplomatic necessities of their royal patrons in Europe; and to the dependence of the German States in the wars of the last century upon the Maritime Powers. But the German people has never abandoned the struggle. The share in the Indian trade which Prussian King

¹ Letter from the Court of Directors to the Calcutta Council, March 25, 1756, para. 71.

and Austrian Kaiser failed to grasp in the 18th century, has been gradually acquired by German merchants in our own day. An important part of the commerce of Calcutta and Bombay is now conducted by German firms ; German mercantile agents are to be found in the rice districts, the jute districts, the cotton districts ; and persons of German nationality have rapidly increased in the Indian Census returns.

Revival of
German
trade in
India.

England emerged the prize-winner from the long contest of the European nations for India. Her success was partly the good gift of fortune, but chiefly the result of four elements in the national character. There was—first, a marvellous patience and self-restraint in refusing to enter on territorial conquests or projects of Indian aggrandizement, until she had gathered strength enough to succeed. Second, an indomitable persistence in those projects once they were entered on ; and a total incapacity, on the part of her servants in India, of being stopped by defeat. Third, an admirable mutual confidence of the Company's servants in each other in times of trouble. Fourth, and chief of all, the resolute support of the English nation at home. England has never doubted that she must retrieve, at whatever strain to herself, every disaster which may befall Englishmen in India ; and she has never sacrificed the work of her Indian servants to the exigencies of her diplomacy in Europe. She was the only European power which unconsciously but absolutely carried out these two principles of policy. The result of that policy, pursued during two and a half centuries, is the British India of to-day.

Causes of
England's
success in
India.

Fixed
policy of
England
in India.

The extent to which the chief continental nations of Europe now resort to British India, may be inferred from the following figures. These figures are exclusive of Europeans in French and Portuguese territory, and in the Native States. Germans numbered 655 in 1872, and 1170 in 1881 ; French, 631 in 1872, and 1013 in 1881 ; Portuguese, 426 in 1872, and 147 in 1881 ; Italians, 282 in 1872, and 788 in 1881 ; Greeks, 127 in 1872, and 195 in 1881 ; Swedes, 73 in 1872, and 337 in 1881 ; Russians, 45 in 1872, and 204 in 1881 ; Dutch, 70 in 1872, and 79 in 1881 ; Norwegians, 58 in 1872, and 358 in 1881 ; Danes, 45 in 1872, and 126 in 1881 ; Spaniards, 32 in 1872, and 87 in 1881 ; Belgians, 20 in 1872, and 180 in 1881 ; Swiss, 19 in 1872, and 87 in 1881 ; Turks, 18 in 1872, and 355 in 1881 ; Austrians, 53 in 1872, and 296 in 1881.

European
traders in
1872 and
1881.

CHAPTER XV.

HISTORY OF BRITISH RULE (1757 TO 1885 A.D.).

Our first territorial possession. Madras, 1639.

THE political history of the British in India begins in the 18th century with the French wars in the Karnátik. Fort St. George, the nucleus of Madras, founded by Francis Day in 1639, was our earliest possession. The French settlement of Pondicherri, about 100 miles lower down the Coromandel coast, was established in 1674; and for many years the English and French traded side by side without rivalry or territorial ambition. The English paid a rent of 1200 pagodas (£500) to the deputies of the Mughal Empire when Aurangzeb annexed the south, and on two occasions bought off a besieging army by a heavy bribe.

Southern India after 1707.

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the whole of Southern India became practically independent of Delhi. In the Deccan Proper, the Nizám-ul-Mulk founded a hereditary dynasty, with Haidarábád for its capital, which exercised a nominal authority over the entire south. The Karnátik, or the lowland tract between the central plateau and the eastern sea, was ruled by a deputy of the Nizám, known as the Nawáb of Arcot. Farther south, Trichinopoli was the capital of a Hindu Rájá; Tanjore formed another Hindu kingdom under a degenerate descendant of Sivají. Inland, Mysore was gradually growing into a third Hindu State; while everywhere local chieftains, called *pálegárs* or *naiks*, were in semi-independent possession of citadels or hill-forts. These represented the fief-holders of the ancient Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar; and many of them had maintained a practical independence since its fall in 1565.

Local rulers.

French and English in the Karnátik.

Such was the condition of affairs in Southern India when war broke out between the English and the French in Europe in 1744. Dupleix was at that time Governor of Pondicherri, and Clive was a young writer at Madras. An English fleet first appeared on the Coromandel coast, but Dupleix, by a judicious present, induced the Nawáb of Arcot to interpose and prevent hostilities. In 1746, a French squadron arrived,

under the command of La Bourdonnais. Madras surrendered almost without a blow; and the only settlement left to the English was Fort St. David, a few miles south of Pondicherri, where Clive and a few other fugitives sought shelter. The Nawáb, faithful to his impartial policy, marched with 10,000 men to drive the French out of Madras, but was defeated. In 1748, an English fleet arrived under Admiral Boscawen, and attempted the siege of Pondicherri, while a land force co-operated under Major Lawrence, whose name afterwards became associated with that of Clive. The French repulsed all attacks; but the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the same year, restored Madras to the English.¹

First
French
war,
1746-48.
We lost
Madras,
1746.

The first war with the French was merely an incident in the greater contest in Europe. The second war had its origin in Indian politics, while England and France were at peace. The easy success of the French arms had inspired Dupleix with the ambition of founding a French empire in India, under the shadow of the Muhammadan powers. Disputed successions at Haidarábád and at Arcot supplied his opportunity. On both thrones Dupleix placed his nominees, and posed as the arbiter of the entire south. The English of Madras, under the instinct of self-preservation, had supported another candidate to the throne of Arcot, in opposition to the nominee of Dupleix. Our candidate was Muhammad Alí, afterwards known in history as Wálá-jáh. The war which ensued between the French and English in Southern India has been exhaustively described by Orme. The one incident that stands out conspicuously is the capture and subsequent defence of Arcot by Clive in 1751. This heroic feat, even more than the battle of Plassey, spread the fame of English valour throughout India. Shortly afterwards, Clive returned to England in ill-health, but the war continued fitfully for many years. On the whole, English influence predominated in the Karnátik or Madras coast, and their candidate, Muhammad Alí, maintained his position at Arcot. But, inland, the French were supreme in the Deccan, and they were able to seize the maritime tract called 'the Northern Circars.'

Second
French
war,
1750-61.
Dupleix

Clive's
defence of
Arcot,
1751.

The final struggle did not take place until 1760. In that year Colonel (afterwards Sir Eyre) Coote won the decisive

Wandewash,
1760.

¹ The authorities for the French and English wars in Southern India are—(1) Orme's *Indostan*, 2 vols., Madras reprint, 1861; (2) Mill's *History of British India* (ed. 1840); and (3) for the French views of those transactions, Colonel Malleson's admirable *History of the French in India* (London, 1868), and *Final Struggles of the French in India* (London, 1878).

Gingi sur-
rendered,
5th April
1761.

victory of Wandewash over the French General, Lally, and proceeded to invest Pondicherry, which was starved into capitulation in January 1761. A few months later the hill-fortress of Ginjee (Gingi) also surrendered.¹ In the words of Orme: 'That day terminated the long hostilities between the two rival European powers in Coromandel, and left not a single ensign of the French nation avowed by the authority of its Government in any part of India.'²

The
English
in Bengal,
1634-96.

Meanwhile, the narrative of British conquest shifts with Clive to Bengal. The first English settlement near the Gangetic estuary was Pippli in Orissa, at which the East India Company was permitted to trade in 1634, five years before the foundation of Madras. The river on which Pippli stood has since silted up, and the very site of the English settlement is now a matter of conjecture. In 1640, a factory was opened at Húglí; in 1642, at Balasor; and in 1681, Bengal was erected into a separate presidency, though still subordinate to Madras. The name of Calcutta is not heard of in the Company's records till 1686, when Job Charnock, the English chief, was forced to quit Húglí by the deputy of Aurangzeb, and settled lower down the river on the opposite bank. There he acquired a grant of the three petty villages of Sutanati, Gobindpur, and Kálíghát (Calcutta), and founded the original Fort William in 1696.

Native
rulers of
Bengal,
1707-56.

At the time of Aurangzeb's death, in 1707, the Nawáb or Governor of Bengal was Murshid Kulí Khán, known also in European history as Jafar Khán. By birth a Bráhmán, and brought up as a slave in Persia, he united the administrative ability of a Hindu with the fanaticism of a renegade. Hitherto the capital of Bengal had been at Dacca, on the eastern frontier of the empire, whence the piratical attacks of the Portuguese and of the Arakanese or Maghs could be most easily checked. Murshid Kulí Khán transferred his residence to Murshidábád, in the immediate neighbourhood of Kásimbázár, which was then the chief emporium of the Gangetic trade. The English, the French, and the Dutch had each factories at Kásimbázár, as well as at Dacca, Patná, and Maldah. But

¹ A full account of GINGI is given, *sub verbo*, in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. In like manner, the local history of each Presidency, Province, or town is treated in the separate article upon it, and can therefore only be very briefly summarized here. Thus, with regard to Calcutta, the reader is referred to article CALCUTTA in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² Orme's *History of Military Transactions in Indostan* (1803), Madras reprint, vol. ii. p. 733 (1861).

Calcutta was the head-quarters of the English, Chandanagar of the French, and Chinsurah of the Dutch. These three settlements were situated not far from one another upon reaches of the Huglí, where the river was navigable for sea-going ships. Calcutta is about 80 miles from the sea; Chandanagar, 24 miles by river above Calcutta; and Chinsurah, 2 miles above Chandanagar. Huglí town, to which reference has so often been made, is almost conterminous with Chinsurah, but lies one mile above it.

Murshid Kulí Khán ruled over Bengal prosperously for twenty-one years, and left his power to a son-in-law and a grandson. The hereditary succession was broken in 1740 by Alí Vardi Khán, a usurper, but the last of the great Nawábs of Bengal. In his days the Maráthá horsemen began to ravage the country, and the inhabitants of Calcutta obtained permission in 1742 to erect an earthwork, known to the present day as the Maráthá ditch. Alí Vardi Khán died in 1756, and was succeeded by his grandson, Siráj-ud-Daulá (Surajah Dowlah), a youth of only eighteen years, whose ungovernable temper led to a rupture with the English within two months after his accession.

In pursuit of one of his own family who had escaped from his vengeance, he marched upon Calcutta with a large army. Many of the English fled down the river in their ships. The remainder surrendered after a brave resistance, and were thrust for the night into the 'Black Hole' or military jail of Fort William, a room about 18 feet square, with only two small windows barred with iron. It was our ordinary garrison prison in those times of cruel military discipline. But although the Nawáb does not seem to have been aware of the consequences, it meant death to a crowd of 146 English men and women in the stifling heats of June. When the door of the prison was opened next morning, only 23 persons out of 146 remained alive.¹

The news of this disaster fortunately found Clive back again at Madras, where also was a squadron of the King's ships under Admiral Watson. Clive and Watson promptly sailed to

¹ The contemporary record of that terrible night is Holwell's Narrative. The original materials have been carefully examined, and much misrepresentation has been cleared away by Dr. H. E. Busteed, in the Calcutta *Englishman*, several dates, 1880. The site of the 'Black Hole' has been lately identified, at the entrance to the lane behind the General Post-Office; and the spot has been paved with fine stone (1884).

Calcutta
recovered,
1757.

Battle of
Plassey,
1757.

How the
victory
was
gained.

Its small
results at
first.

the mouth of the Ganges with all the troops they could get together. Calcutta was recovered with little fighting, and the Nawáb consented to a peace which restored to the Company all their privileges, and gave them ample compensation for their losses. It is possible that matters might have ended thus, if a fresh cause of hostilities had not suddenly arisen. War had just been declared between the English and French in Europe; and Clive, following the traditions of warfare in the Karnátik, captured the French settlement of Chandarnagar. The Nawáb Siráj-ud-Daulá, enraged by this breach of the peace within his dominions, took the side of the French. But Clive, acting upon the policy which he had learned from Dupleix, provided himself with a rival candidate (Mír Jafar) to the throne. Undaunted, he marched out to the grove of Plassey, about 70 miles north of Calcutta, at the head of 1000 Europeans and 2000 sepoy, with 8 pieces of artillery. The Bengal Viceroy's army numbered 35,000 foot and 15,000 horse, with 50 cannon.

Clive is said to have fought in spite of his Council of War. The truth is, he could scarcely avoid a battle. The Nawáb attacked with his whole artillery, at 6 A.M.; but Clive kept his men well under shelter, 'lodged in a large grove, surrounded with good mud banks.' At noon the enemy drew off into their entrenched camp for dinner. Clive only hoped to make a 'successful attack at night.' Meanwhile, the enemy being probably undressed over their cooking-pots, he sprang upon one of their advanced posts, which had given him trouble, and stormed 'an angle of their camp.' Several of the Nawáb's chief officers fell. The Nawáb himself, dismayed by the unexpected confusion, fled on a camel; his troops dispersed in a panic, and Clive found he had won a great victory. Mír Jafar's cavalry, which had hovered undecided during the battle, and had been repeatedly fired on by Clive, 'to make them keep their distance,' now joined our camp; and the road to Murshidábád lay open.¹

The battle of Plassey was fought on June 23, 1757, an anniversary afterwards remembered when the Mutiny of 1857 was at its height. History has agreed to adopt this date as the beginning of the British Empire in the East. But the immediate results of the victory were comparatively small, and several years passed in hard fighting before even the Bengalis would admit the superiority of the British arms. For the

¹ These numbers and the account of the battle are taken by the author from Clive's MS. Despatch to the Secret Committee, dated 26th July 1757. The quotations are Clive's own words.

moment, however, all opposition was at an end. Clive, again following in the steps of Dupleix, placed Mír Jafar upon the Mír Jafar, Viceregal throne at Murshidábád, being careful to obtain a 1757 patent of investiture from the Mughal court.

Enormous sums were exacted from Mír Jafar as the price of Pecuniary his elevation. The Company claimed 10 million rupees as com- compensa- pensation for its losses. For the English, native, and Armenian tions to the inhabitants of Calcutta were demanded, respectively, 5 million, English. 2 million, and 1 million rupees; for the naval squadron and the army, 2½ million rupees apiece. The members of the Council received the following amounts:—Mr. Drake, the Governor, and Colonel Clive, as second member of the Select Committee, 280,000 rupces each. Colonel Clive also received 200,000 rupees as Commander-in-Chief, and 1,600,000 rupees ‘as a private donation;’ Mr. Becker, Mr. Watts, and Major Kilpatrick, 240,000 rupees each, besides ‘private donations,’ amounting in the case of Mr. Watts to 800,000 rupees. The gratifications of a personal character, including the donation to the troops and the fleet, aggregated £1,238,575;¹ while the whole claim amounted to £2,697,750. The English still cherished extravagant ideas of Indian wealth. But no funds existed to satisfy their inordinate demands, and they had to be contented with one-half the stipulated sums. Even of this reduced amount, one-third had to be taken in jewels and plate, there being neither coin nor bullion left.

At the same time, the Nawáb made a grant to the Com- Grant of pany of the *zamíndárrí* or landholder’s rights over an extensive Twenty- tract of country round Calcutta, now known as the District four Par- ganás, of the Twenty-four Parganá. The area of this tract was 882 1757. square miles. In 1757 the Company obtained only the *zamíndárrí* rights—i.e., the rights to collect the cultivators’ rents, with the revenue jurisdiction over them. The superior lordship, or right to receive the land-tax, remained with the Nawáb. But in 1759 this also was granted by the Delhi Emperor, the nominal Suzerain of the Nawáb, in favour of Clive, who thus became the landlord of his own masters, the Company. Clive was enrolled among the highest nobility of the Mughal Empire, with the rank of commander of 6000 foot and 5000 horse, and a large allotment of land near Calcutta, in 1759.

This military fief, or Clive’s *jágírr*, as it was called, subse- Clive’s quently became a matter of inquiry in England. Lord Clive’s *jágírr*, 1759.

¹ For a full statement of the personal donations, see Mill’s *History of British India*, vol. iii. pp. 367, 368 (Wilson’s ed. 1840).

claims to the property as feudal Suzerain over the Company were contested in 1764. On the 23rd June 1765, when he returned to Bengal, a new deed was issued, confirming the unconditional *jágír* to Lord Clive for ten years, with reversion afterwards to the Company in perpetuity. This deed, having received the Emperor's sanction on the 12th August 1765, gave absolute validity to the original *jágír* grant in favour of Lord Clive. It transferred, in reversion, to the Company the Twenty-four Parganáas as a perpetual property based upon a *jágír* grant. The sum of Rs. 222,958, the amount at which the land was assessed when first made over to the Company in 1757, was paid to Lord Clive from 1765 until his death in 1774, when the whole proprietary right reverted to the Company.¹

In 1758, Clive was appointed by the Court of Directors the first Governor of all the Company's settlements in Bengal.²

Clive, first
Governor
of Bengal,
1758;

¹ For a full account of the different grants, and the powers granted by them, see Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. i. (TWENTY-FOUR PARGANAS), pp. 19, 20.

² GOVERNORS AND GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF INDIA UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1758-1858.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1758. Lord Clive, Governor. | 1805. Sir George Barlow (<i>pro tem.</i>). |
| 1760. Mr. Z. Holwell (<i>pro tem.</i>). | 1807. Earl of Minto. |
| 1760. Mr. Vansittart. | 1813. Earl of Moira, Marquis of Hastings. |
| 1765. Lord Clive (second time). | 1823. John Adam (<i>pro tem.</i>). |
| 1767. Harry Verelst. | 1823. Lord Amherst. |
| 1769. John Cartier. | 1828. Mr. Butterworth Bayley (<i>pro tem.</i>). |
| 1772. Warren Hastings (first Governor-General, 1774). | 1828. Lord William Cavendish Bentinck. |
| 1785. Sir John Macpherson (<i>pro tem.</i>). | 1835. Sir Chas. Metcalfe, afterwards Lord Metcalfe (<i>pro tem.</i>). |
| 1786. Marquis of Cornwallis. | 1836. Earl of Auckland. |
| 1793. Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth). | 1842. Earl of Ellenborough. |
| 1798. Sir Alured Clarke (<i>pro tem.</i>). | 1844. Viscount Hardinge. |
| 1798. Lord Mornington (Marquis Wellesley). | 1848. Earl (afterwards Marquis) of Dalhousie. |
| 1805. Marquis of Cornwallis (second time). | 1856. Earl Canning. |

VICEROYS OF INDIA UNDER THE CROWN, 1858-85.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1858. Earl Canning. | 1869. Earl of Mayo. |
| 1862. Earl of Elgin. | 1872. Sir John Strachey (<i>pro tem.</i>). |
| 1863. Sir R. Napier, afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala (<i>pro tem.</i>). | 1872. Lord Napier of Merchistoun (<i>pro tem.</i>). |
| 1863. Sir William Denison (<i>pro tem.</i>). | 1872. Earl of Northbrook. |
| 1864. Sir John Lawrence (Lord Lawrence). | 1876. Earl of Lytton. |
| | 1880. Marquis of Ripon. |
| | 1884. Lord Dufferin. |

Two powers threatened hostilities. On the west, the Sháhzáda or Imperial prince, known afterwards as the Emperor Sháh Alam, with a mixed army of Afgháns and Maráthás, and supported by the Nawáb Wazír of Oudh, was advancing his own claims to the Province of Bengal. In the south, the influence of the French under Lally and Bussy was overshadowing the British at Madras.

The vigour of Clive exercised a decisive effect in both directions. Mir Jafar was anxious to buy off the Sháhzáda, who had already invested Patná. But Clive marched in person to the rescue, with an army of only 450 Europeans and 2500 sepoy, and the Mughal army dispersed without striking a blow. Clive also despatched a force southwards from Bengal under Colonel Forde, in 1759, which recaptured Masulipatam from the French, and permanently established British influence throughout the Northern Circars, and at the court of Haidarábád. He next attacked the Dutch, the only other European nation who might yet prove a rival to the English. He defeated them both by land and water; and their settlement at Chinsurah existed thenceforth only on sufferance.

scatters
Oudh
army;

overcomes
French in
Madras ;

defeats
Dutch.

From 1760 to 1765, Clive was in England. He had left no system of government in Bengal, but merely the tradition that unlimited sums of money might be extracted from the natives by the terror of the English name. In 1761, it was found expedient and profitable to dethrone Mir Jafar, the English Nawáb of Murshidábád, and to substitute his son-in-law, Mir Kásim, in his place. On this occasion, besides private donations, the English received a grant of the three Districts of Bardwán, Midnapur, and Chittagong, estimated to yield a net revenue of half a million sterling. But Mir Kásim soon began to show a will of his own, and to cherish dreams of independence. He retired from Murshidábád to Monghyr a strong position on the Ganges, commanding the only means of communication with the north-west. There he proceeded to organize an army, drilled and equipped after European models, and to carry on intrigues with the Nawáb Wazír of Oudh. He resolved to try his strength with the English, and found a good pretext.

Misman-
agement,
1760-64.

Mir Kásim
set up,
1761.

The Company's servants claimed the privilege of carrying on their private trade throughout Bengal, free from inland dues and all imposts. The assertion of this claim caused affrays between the customs officers of the Nawáb and the native traders, who, whether truly or not, represented that

Mir Kásim
breaks
with the
English.

Patná
Massacre,
1763.

they were acting on behalf of the servants of the Company. The Nawáb alleged that his civil authority was everywhere set at nought. The majority of the Council at Calcutta would not listen to his complaints. The Governor, Mr. Vansittart, and Warren Hastings, then a junior member of Council, attempted to effect some compromise. But the controversy had become too hot. The Nawáb's officers fired upon an English boat, and forthwith all Bengal rose in arms. Two thousand of our sepoys were cut to pieces at Patná; about 200 Englishmen, who there and in various other parts of the Province fell into the hands of the Muhammadans, were massacred.¹

First
sepoymutiny,
1764.

Battle of
Baxár,
1764.

But as soon as regular warfare commenced, Mír Kásim met with no more successes. His trained regiments were defeated in two pitched battles by Major Adams, at Gheriah and at Udhanálá (Oodeynullah); and he himself took refuge with the Nawáb Wazír of Oudh, who refused to deliver him up. This led to a prolongation of the war. Sháh Alam, who had succeeded his father as Delhi Emperor, and Shujá-ud-Daulá the Nawáb Wazír of Oudh, united their forces, and threatened Patná, which the English had recovered. A more formidable danger appeared in the English camp, in the form of the first sepoymutiny. This was quelled by Major (afterwards Sir Hector) Munro, who ordered 24 of the ringleaders to be blown from guns—an old Mughal punishment. In 1764, Major Munro won the decisive battle of Baxár, which laid Oudh at the feet of the conquerors, and brought the Mughal Emperor a suppliant to the English camp.

Clive's
second
governorship,
1765-67.

Meanwhile, the Council at Calcutta had twice found the opportunity they loved of selling the government of Bengal to a new Nawáb. But in 1765, Clive (now Baron Clive of Plassey in the peerage of Ireland) arrived at Calcutta, as Governor of Bengal for the second time. Two landmarks stand out in his policy. First, he sought the substance, although not the name, of territorial power, under the fiction of a grant from the Mughal Emperor. Second, he desired to purify the Company's service, by prohibiting illicit gains, and by guaranteeing a reasonable pay from honest sources. In neither respect were his plans carried out by his immediate successors. But the beginning of our Indian rule dates from

¹ The massacre of Patná is described in sufficient detail under article PATNA DISTRICT in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, and in Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. xi. pp. 71 *et seq.*

this second governorship of Clive, as our military supremacy had dated from his victory at Plassey.

Clive landed, advanced rapidly up from Calcutta to Allah-^{Clive's partition of Gangetic valley, 1765.} ábád, and there settled in person the fate of nearly half of India. Oudh was given back to the Nawáb Wazír, on condition of his paying half a million sterling towards the expenses of the war. The Provinces of Allahábád and Kora,¹ forming the greater part of the Doáb, were handed over to Sháh Alam, the Delhi Emperor, who in his turn granted to the Company the *diwání* or fiscal administration of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, with the jurisdiction of the Northern Circars. A ^{Diwání grant of Bengal, 1765.} puppet Nawáb was still maintained at Murshidábád, with an annual allowance from us of £600,000. Half that amount, or about £300,000, we paid to the Emperor as tribute from Bengal.² Thus was constituted the dual system of Government, by which the English received the revenues of Bengal and undertook to maintain the army; while the criminal jurisdiction, or *nizámat*, was vested in the Nawáb. In Indian phraseology, the Company was *diwán*, and the Nawáb was *nizám*. The actual collection of the revenues still remained for some years in the hands of native officials.

Clive's other great task was the reorganization of the Com-^{Clive's reorganization of the Company's service, 1766.} pany's service. All the officers, civil and military alike, were tainted with the common corruption. Their legal salaries were paltry and quite insufficient for a livelihood. But they had been permitted to augment them, sometimes a hundred-fold, by means of private trade and gifts from the native powers. Despite the united resistance of the civil servants, and an actual mutiny of two hundred military officers, Clive carried through his reforms. Private trade and the receipt of presents were prohibited for the future, while a substantial increase of pay was provided out of the monopoly of salt.

Lord Clive quitted India for the third and last time in 1767. ^{Dual system of administration. 1767-72;} Between that date and the governorship of Warren Hastings in 1772, little of importance occurred in Bengal beyond the terrible famine of 1770, which is officially reported to have swept away one-third of the inhabitants. The dual system of government, established in 1765 by Clive, had proved a

¹ The 'Corah' of the E. I. Company's records; the capital of an ancient Muhammadan governorship, now a decayed town in Fatehpur District. See article KORA in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² The exact sums were Sikka Rs. 5,386,131 to the Nawáb, and Sikka Rs. 2,600,000 to the Emperor.

Dual
system
abolished,
1772.

failure. Warren Hastings, a tried servant of the Company, distinguished alike for intelligence, for probity, and for knowledge of oriental manners, was nominated Governor by the Court of Directors, with express instructions to carry out a predetermined series of reforms. In their own words, the Court had resolved to 'stand forth as *dīwān*, and to take upon themselves, by the agency of their own servants, the entire care and administration of the revenues.' In the execution of this plan, Hastings removed the exchequer to Calcutta from Murshidābād, which had up to that time remained the revenue head-quarters of Bengal. He also appointed European officers, under the now familiar title of Collectors, to superintend the revenue collections and preside in the courts.

Warren
Hastings,
1772-85.

His admini-
strative
reforms.

Clive had laid the territorial foundations of the British Empire in Bengal. Hastings may be said to have created a British administration for that Empire. The wars forced on him by Native Powers in India, the clamours of his masters in England for money, and the virulence of Sir Philip Francis with a faction of his colleagues at the Council table in Calcutta, retarded the completion of his schemes. But the manuscript records disclose the patient statesmanship and indomitable industry which he brought to bear upon them. From 1765 to 1772, Clive's dual system of government, by corrupt native underlings and rapacious English chiefs, prevailed. Thirteen years were now spent by Warren Hastings in experimental efforts at rural administration by means of English officials (1772-85). The completion of the edifice was left to his successor. But Hastings was the administrative organizer, as Clive had been the territorial founder, of our Indian Empire.

Hastings'
policy
with
native
powers.

Warren
Hastings
first
Governor-
General,
1774.

Hastings' true fame as an Indian ruler rests on his administrative work. He reorganized the Indian service, reformed every branch of the revenue collections, created courts of justice and some semblance of a police. History remembers his name, however, not for his improvements in the internal administration, but for his bold foreign policy, and for the crimes into which it led him. From 1772 to 1774, he was Governor of Bengal; from the latter date to 1785, he was the first Governor-General, presiding over a Council nominated, like himself, under a statute of Parliament known as the Regulating Act (1773). In his domestic policy he was greatly hampered by the opposition of his colleague in council, Sir Philip Francis. But in his external relations with Oudh, with the Maráthás, and with Haidar Ali, he was generally able to compel assent to his views.

His relations with the native powers, like his domestic policy, formed a well-considered scheme. Hastings had to find money for the Court of Directors in England, whose thirst for the wealth of India was not less keen, although more decorous, than that of their servants in Bengal. He had also to protect the Company's territory from the Native Powers, which, if he had not destroyed them, would have annihilated him. An honest man under such circumstances might be led into questionable measures. Hastings in his personal dealings, and as regards his personal gains, seems to have been a high-minded English gentleman. But as an Anglo-Indian statesman, he shared the laxity which he saw practised by the native potentates with whom he had to deal. Parts of his policy were vehemently assailed in Parliament, and cannot be upheld by right-thinking men. It is the object of the present summary neither to attack nor to defend his measures, but to give a short account of them as a connected whole.

Warren Hastings had in the first place to make Bengal pay. This he could not do under Clive's dual system of administration. When he abolished that double system, he cut down the Nawáb's allowance to one-half, and so saved about £160,000 a year. In defence of this act, it may be stated that the titular Nawáb, being then a minor, had ceased to render even any nominal service for his enormous pension. Clive had himself reduced the original £600,000 to £450,000 on the accession of a new Nawáb in 1766, and the grant was again cut down to £350,000 on a fresh succession in 1769.¹ The allowance had practically been of a fluctuating and personal character.² Its further reduction in the case of the new child-Nawáb had, moreover, been expressly ordered by the Court of Directors six months before Hastings took office.

Hastings' next financial stroke was the sale of Allahábád and Kora Provinces to the Wazír of Oudh. These Provinces had been assigned by Clive, in his partition of the Gangetic valley, to the Emperor Sháh Alam, together with a tribute of about £300,000 (26 *lákhs* of rupees), in return for the grant of Bengal to the Company. But the Emperor had now been

¹ The detailed history of these transactions, and a sketch of each of the 14 Nawábs of Bengal from 1704 to 1884, will be found under District Murshidábád, vol. ix. pp. 172-195 of Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*.

² See separate agreements with the successive Nawábs of 30th September 1765, 19th May 1766, and 21st March 1770, in each of which the grant is to the Nawáb, without mention of heirs or successors.—Aitchison's *Treaties and Engagements*, vol. i. pp. 56-59 (ed. 1876).

seized by the Maráthás. Hastings held that His Majesty was no longer independent, and that it would be a fatal policy for the British to pay money to the Maráthás in Northern India, when it was evident that they would soon have to fight them in the south. He therefore withheld the tribute of the Emperor's £300,000 from the puppet Emperor, or rather from his Maráthá custodians.

Withholds
the
Emperor's
tribute.

Clive, at the partition of the Gangetic valley in 1765, assigned the Provinces of Allahábád and Kora to the Emperor. The Emperor, now in the hands of the Maráthás, had made them over to his new masters. Warren Hastings held that by so doing His Majesty had forfeited his title to these Provinces. Hastings accordingly resold them to the Wazír of Oudh. By this measure he freed the Company from a military charge of nearly half a million sterling (40 *lákhs* of rupees), and obtained a price of over half a million (50 *lákhs*) for the Company.

The Ro-
hillá war,
1773-74.

The sale included the loan of the British troops to subdue the Rohillá Afgháns, who held a large tract in those Provinces ever since Ahmad Sháh's desolating invasion in 1761. The Rohillás were foreigners, and had cruelly lorded it over the peasantry.¹ They now resisted bravely, and were crushed with the merciless severity of Asiatic warfare by the Wazír of Oudh, aided by his British troops. By these measures Warren Hastings bettered the finances of Bengal to the extent of a million sterling a year on both sides of the account; but he did so at the cost of treaties and pensions granted by his predecessor Clive.

Plunder
of Chait
Singh,
1780.

He further improved the financial position of the Company by what is known as the plunder of Chait Singh and the Begam of Oudh. Chait Singh, the Rájá of Benares, had grown rich under British protection. He resisted the demand of Warren Hastings to subsidize a military force, and an alleged correspondence with the enemies of the British Government led to his arrest. He escaped, headed a rebellion, and was crushed. His estates were forfeited, but transferred to his nephew subject to an increased tribute.²

Hastings
fines the
Oudh
Begam,
1782.

The Begam, or Queen-Mother, of Oudh was charged with abetting the Benares Rájá in his rebellion. A heavy fine was laid upon her, which she resisted to the utmost. But after

¹ For the history of the Rohillá Afgháns, on whom much sentiment has been needlessly lavished, see article BAREILLY DISTRICT, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, and other Districts of Rohilkhand.

² See *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, articles BENARES DISTRICT and BENARES ESTATE.

cruel pressure on herself and the eunuchs of her household, over a million sterling was extorted for the English Company.

On his return to England, Warren Hastings was impeached, in 1786, by the House of Commons for these and other alleged acts of oppression. He was solemnly tried by the House of Lords, and the proceedings dragged themselves out for seven years (1788-95). They form one of the most celebrated State trials in English history, and ended in a verdict of not guilty on all the charges. Meanwhile, the cost of the defence had ruined Warren Hastings, and left him dependent upon the charity of the Court of Directors—a charity which never failed.

The real excuse, such as it is, for some of Hastings' measures is that he had to struggle for his very existence; that native perfidy gave him his opportunity; and that he used his opportunity, on the whole, less mercilessly than a native Viceroy would have done. It is a poor excuse for the clearest English head, and the firmest administrative hand, that ever ruled India. In his dealings with Southern India, Warren Hastings had not to regard solely the financial results. He there appears as the great man that he really was; calm in council, cautious of enterprise, but swift in execution, and of indomitable courage in all that he undertook.

The Bombay Government was naturally emulous to follow the example of Madras and Bengal, and to establish its supremacy at the Court of Poona by placing its own nominee upon the throne. This ambition found its scope in 1775 by the treaty of Surat, by which Raghunáth Ráo, one of the claimants to the throne of the Peshwá, agreed to cede Salsette and Bassein to the English, in consideration of being himself restored to Poona. The military operations that followed are known as the first Maráthá war. Warren Hastings, who in his capacity of Governor-General claimed some degree of control over the decisions of the Bombay Government, strongly disapproved of the treaty of Surat. But when war actually broke out, he threw the whole force of the Bengal army into the scale. One of his favourite officers, General Goddard, marched across the peninsula from sea to sea, and conquered the rich Province of Gujarát almost without a blow. Another, Captain Popham, snatched by storm the rock-fortress of Gwalior, which was regarded as the key of Hindustán.

These brilliant successes of the Bengal troops atoned for the contemporaneous disgrace of the convention of Wargaum in 1779, when the Maráthás overpowered and dictated terms to our Bombay force. The war in Bombay lasted till 1781.

Charges
against
Hastings.

Hastings'
poor
excuse.

First Mar-
áthá war,
1778-81.

Goddard's
march,
1778-79.

Treaty of
Salbai,
1782.

It was closed by the treaty of Salbai (1782), which practically restored the *status quo*. Raghunáth Ráo, the English claimant to the Peshwáship, was set aside on a pension; Gujarát was restored to the Maráthás; and only Salsette, with Elephanta and two other small islands, was retained by the English.

War with
Mysore,
1780-84.

Meanwhile, Warren Hastings had to deal with a more formidable enemy than the Maráthá confederacy. The reckless conduct of the Madras Government had roused the hostility both of Haidar Alí of Mysore and of the Nizám of the Deccan, the two strongest Musalmán powers in India. These princes began to draw the Maráthás into an alliance against the English. The diplomacy of Hastings won back the Nizám and the Maráthá Rájá of Nágpur; but the army of Haidar Alí fell like a thunderbolt upon the British possessions in the Karnátik. A strong detachment under Colonel Baillie was cut to pieces at Pollilore, and the Mysore cavalry ravaged the country up to the walls of Madras. For the second time the Bengal army, stimulated by the energy of Hastings, saved the honour of the English name. He despatched Sir Eyre Coote, the victor of Wandewash, to relieve Madras by sea, with all the men and money available, while Colonel Pearse marched south overland to overawe the Rájá of Berar and the Nizám. The war was hotly contested, for the aged Sir Eyre Coote had lost his energy, and the Mysore army was not only well disciplined and equipped, but skilfully handled by Haidar and his son Tipú. Haidar died in 1782; and peace was finally concluded with Tipú in 1784, on the basis of a mutual restitution of all conquests.

Death of
Haidar
Alí, 1782.

Lord
Corn-
wallis,
1786-93.

Two years later, Warren Hastings was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis, the first English nobleman of rank who undertook the office of Governor-General of India. Between these two great names an interval of twenty months took place under Sir John Macpherson, a civil servant of the Company (Feb. 1785 to Sept. 1786). Lord Cornwallis twice held the high post of Governor-General. His first rule lasted from 1786 to 1793, and is celebrated for two events—the introduction of the Permanent Settlement into Bengal, and the second Mysore war. If the foundations of the system of civil administration were laid by Hastings, the superstructure was raised by Cornwallis. It was he who first entrusted criminal jurisdiction to Europeans, and established the Nizámat Sadr Adálat, or Supreme Court of Criminal Judicature, at Calcutta.

It was he, also, who separated the functions of the District Collector and Judge.

The system thus organized in Bengal was afterwards extended to Madras and Bombay, when those Presidencies also acquired territorial sovereignty. But the achievement most familiarly associated with the name of Cornwallis is the Permanent Settlement of the land revenue of Bengal. During four years, 1786-90, he laboured, with the help of an able Bengal civilian, John Shore, to arrive at the facts of the case. Warren Hastings had introduced, unsuccessfully and only for a period, a five years' settlement of the land revenue. Lord Cornwallis, after three years of inquiry and of provisional measures, introduced a ten years' or 'decennial' settlement (1789-91). Up to this time, the revenue had been collected pretty much according to the old Mughal system. The *zamindars*, or Government farmers, whose office always tended to become hereditary, were recognised as having a right to collect the revenue from the actual cultivators. But no principle of assessment existed, and the amount actually realized varied greatly from year to year. Hastings seems to have looked to experience, as acquired from a succession of quinquennial settlements, to furnish the standard rate of the future. Francis, on the other hand, Hastings' great rival, advocated the fixing of the State demand in perpetuity. The same view recommended itself to the authorities at home, partly because it would place their finances on a more stable basis, partly because it seemed to identify the *zamindar* with the landlord of the English system of property. Accordingly, Cornwallis took out with him in 1786 instructions to introduce a Permanent Settlement.

The process of assessment began in 1789, and terminated in 1791. No attempt was made to measure the fields or calculate the out-turn, as had been done by Akbar, and as is now done whenever settlements are made in the British Provinces. The amount to be paid in the future was fixed by reference to what had been paid in the past. At first the settlement was called decennial, but in 1793 it was declared permanent for ever. The total assessment amounted to Sikka Rs. 26,800,989, or about 3 millions sterling for Bengal. Lord Cornwallis carried the scheme into execution; but the praise or blame, so far as details are concerned, belongs to Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, a civil servant, whose knowledge of the country was unsurpassed in his time. Shore would have proceeded more cautiously than Cornwallis' preconceived English

His
revenue
reforms.

The De-
cennial
Settle-
ment,
1789-91.

Period of
experi-
ment.

The Per-
manent
Settlement
of Bengal,
1793.

idea of a proprietary body, and the Court of Directors' haste after fixity, permitted.¹

Second
Mysore
war,
1790-92.

The second Mysore war of 1790-92 is noteworthy on two accounts. Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, led the British army in person, with a pomp and a magnificence of supply which recalled the campaigns of Aurangzeb. The two great southern powers, the Nizám of the Deccan and the Maráthá confederacy, co-operated as allies of the British. In the end, Tipú Sultán submitted when Lord Cornwallis had commenced to beleaguer his capital. He agreed to yield one-half of his dominions to be divided among the allies, and to pay 3 millions sterling towards the cost of the war. These conditions he fulfilled, but ever afterwards he burned to be revenged upon his English conquerors.

Sir John
Shore,
1793-98.

The period of Sir John Shore's rule as Governor-General, from 1793 to 1798, was uneventful. In 1798, Lord Mornington, better known as the Marquis of Wellesley, arrived in India, already inspired with imperial projects which were destined to change the map of the country. Mornington was the friend and favourite of Pitt, from whom he is thought to have derived his far-reaching political vision, and his antipathy to the French name. From the first he laid down as his guiding principle, that the English must be the one paramount power in the peninsula, and that native princes could only retain the insignia of sovereignty by surrendering their political independence. The history of India since his time has been but the gradual development of this policy, which received its finishing touch when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India on the 1st of January 1877.²

French
influence
in India,
1798-1800.

To frustrate the possibility of a French invasion of India, led by Napoleon in person, was the governing idea of

¹ The Permanent Settlement will be referred to in greater detail, and its practical working exhibited, under the Administrative chapter.

² An admirable account of Lord Wellesley's policy will be found in the Despatch of the Governor-General in Council to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 12th April 1804. This Despatch extends to 791 paragraphs, and covers all the great Indian questions of that eventful period. It was printed by John Stockdale, Piccadilly, in 1805, as a quarto volume, entitled, *History of all the Events and Transactions which have taken place in India*, etc. It will continue to form the most authentic record of any Governor-Generalship of India, until the seal is taken off Lord Dalhousie's long closed diaries.

Wellesley's foreign policy. France at this time, and for many years later, filled the place afterwards occupied by Russia in the imagination of English statesmen. Nor was the danger so remote as might now be thought. French regiments guarded and overawed the Nizám of Haidarábád. The soldiers of Sindhia, the military head of the Maráthá confederacy, were disciplined and led by French adventurers. Tipú Sultán of Mysore carried on a secret correspondence with the French Directorate, allowed a tree of liberty to be planted in his dominions, and enrolled himself in a republican club as 'Citizen Tipú.' The islands of Mauritius and Bourbon afforded a convenient half-way rendezvous for French intrigue and for the assembling of a hostile expedition. Above all, Napoleon Buonaparte was then in Egypt, dreaming of the conquests of Alexander; and no man knew in what direction he might turn his hitherto unconquered legions.

Wellesley conceived the scheme of crushing for ever the French hopes in Asia, by placing himself at the head of a great Indian confederacy. In Lower Bengal, the conquests of Clive and the policy of Warren Hastings had made the English paramount. Before Lord Wellesley's arrival, our power was consolidated from the seaboard to Benares, high up the Gangetic valley. Beyond our frontier there, the Nawáb Wazír of Oudh had agreed to pay a subsidy for the aid of British troops. This sum in 1797 amounted to £760,000 a year; and the Nawáb, being always in arrears, entered into negotiations for a cession of territory in lieu of a cash payment. In 1801, the treaty of Lucknow made over to the British the *doáb*, or fertile tract between the Ganges and the Jumna, together with Rohilkhand. In Southern India, our possessions were chiefly confined in 1798, before Lord Wellesley, to the coast Districts of Madras and Bombay.

Wellesley resolved to make the British supreme as far as Delhi in Northern India, and to compel the great powers of the south to enter into subordinate relations to the Company's government. The intrigues of the native princes gave him his opportunity for carrying out his plan without breach of faith. The time had arrived when the English must either become supreme in India, or be driven out of it. The Mughal Empire was completely broken up; and the sway had to pass either to the local Muhammadan governors of that Empire, or to the Hindu confederacy represented by the Maráthás, or to the British. Lord Wellesley determined that it should pass to the British.

India before Lord Wellesley, 1798;

in the north;

in the south.

Lord Wellesley's scheme.

Lord Wel- His work in Northern India was at first easy. By the
lesley's treaty of Lucknow in 1801, he made us territorial rulers as far
work ; as the heart of the present North-Western Provinces, and
in the established our political influence in Oudh. Beyond those
north ; limits, the northern branches of the Maráthás practically
held sway, with the puppet Emperor in their hands. Lord
Wellesley left them untouched for a few years, until the
second Maráthá war (1802-04) gave him an opportunity for
dealing effectively with their nation as a whole.

in the In Southern India, Lord Wellesley quickly perceived
south. that the Muhammadan Nizám at Haidarábád stood in
need of his protection, and he converted him into a useful
follower throughout the succeeding struggle. The other
Muhammadan power of the south, Tipú Sultán of Mysore,
could not be so easily handled. Lord Wellesley resolved to
crush him, and had ample provocation for so doing. The third
power of Southern India—namely, the Hindu Maráthá con-
federacy—was so loosely organized that Lord Wellesley seems
at first to have hoped to live on terms with it. When several
years of fitful alliance had convinced him that he had to
choose between the supremacy of the Maráthás or of the
British in Southern India, he did not hesitate in his decision.

Treaty Lord Wellesley first addressed himself to the weakest of
with the the three southern powers, the Nizám at Haidarábád. Here
Nizám, he won a diplomatic success, which turned a possible rival into
1798. a subservient ally. The French battalions at Haidarábád
were disbanded, and the Nizám bound himself by treaty¹ not
to take any European into his service without the consent of
the English Government,—a clause since inserted in every
leading engagement entered into with Native Powers.

Wellesley next turned the whole weight of his resources
against Tipú, whom Cornwallis had defeated, but had not sub-
dued. Tipú's intrigues with the French were laid bare, and he
was given an opportunity of adhering to the new subsidiary
system. On his refusal, war was declared, and Wellesley came
down in viceregal state to Madras to organize the expedition in
person, and to watch over the course of events. One English
Third army marched into Mysore from Madras, accompanied by a
Mysore contingent from the Nizám. Another advanced from the
war, 1799. western coast. Tipú, after a feeble resistance in the field, retired
into Seringapatam, and, when his capital was stormed, died
fighting bravely in the breach, 1799. Since the battle of Plassey

¹ Dated 1st September 1798.—Aitchison's *Treaties and Engagements*,
vol. v. pp. 173-176 (ed. 1876).

no event had so greatly impressed the native imagination as the capture of Seringapatam, which won for General Harris a peerage, and for Wellesley an Irish Marquisate. Fall of Seringapatam, 1799.

In dealing with the territories of Tipú, Wellesley acted with moderation. The central portion, forming the old State of Mysore, was restored to an infant representative of the Hindu Rájás, whom Haidar Ali had dethroned; the rest of Tipú's dominions was partitioned between the Nizám, the Maráthás, and the English. At about the same time, the Karnátik, or the part of South-eastern India ruled by the Nawáb of Arcot, and also the principality of Tanjore, were placed under direct British administration, thus constituting the Madras Presidency almost as it has existed to the present day. The sons of the slain Tipú were treated by Lord Wellesley with paternal tenderness. They received a magnificent allowance, with semi-royal establishment, first at Vellore, and afterwards in Calcutta. The last of them, Prince Ghulam Muhammad, was long well known as a public-spirited citizen of Calcutta, and an active Justice of the Peace. He died only a few years ago (about 1877).

The Maráthás had been the nominal allies of the English in both their wars with Tipú. But they had not rendered active assistance, nor were they secured to the English side as the Nizám now was. The Maráthá powers at this time were five in number. The recognised head of the confederacy was the Peshwá of Poona, who ruled the hill country of the Western Gháts, the cradle of the Maráthá race. The fertile Province of Gujarát was annually harried by the horse-men of the Gáekwár of Baroda. In Central India, two military leaders, Sindhia of Gwalior and Holkar of Indore, alternately held the pre-eminency. Towards the east, the Bhonsla Rájá of Nágpur reigned from Berar to the coast of Orissa. The Maráthás in 1800.

Wellesley laboured to bring these several Maráthá powers within the net of his subsidiary system. In 1802, the necessities of the Peshwá, who had been defeated by Holkar, and driven as a fugitive into British territory, induced him to sign the treaty of Bassein. By this he pledged himself to the British to hold communications with no Power, European or Native, except ourselves. He also granted to us Districts for the maintenance of a subsidiary force. This greatly extended the English territorial influence in the Bombay Presidency. But it led to the second Maráthá war, as neither Sindhia nor the Rájá of Nágpur would tolerate the Peshwá's betrayal of Maráthá independence. Wellesley's dealings with the Maráthás.

- Second Maráthá war, 1802-04. The campaigns which followed are perhaps the most glorious in the history of the British arms in India. The general plan, and the adequate provision of resources, were due to the Marquis of Wellesley, as also the indomitable spirit which refused to acknowledge defeat. The armies were led by Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington), and General (afterwards Lord) Lake. Wellesley operated in the Deccan, where, in a few short months, he won the decisive victories of Assaye and Argaum, and captured Ahmadnagar. Lake's campaign in Hindustán was no less brilliant, although it has received less notice from historians. He won pitched battles at Aligarh and Láswári, and took the cities of Delhi and Agra. He scattered the French troops of Sindhia, and at the same time stood forward as the champion of the Mughal Emperor in his hereditary capital. Before the end of 1803, both Sindhia and the Bhonsla Rájá of Nágpur sued for peace.
- British victories, 1802-03. Sindhia ceded all claims to the territory north of the Jumna, and left the blind old Emperor Sháh Alam once more under British protection. The Bhonsla forfeited Orissa to the English, who had already occupied it with a flying column in 1803; and Berar to the Nizám, who gained a fresh addition by every act of complaisance to the British Government. The freebooter Jaswant Ráo Holkar alone remained in the field, supporting his troops by raids through Málwá and Rájputána. The concluding years of Wellesley's rule were occupied with a series of operations against Holkar, which brought little credit on the British name. The disastrous retreat of Colonel Monson through Central India (1804) recalled memories of the convention of Wargáum, and of the destruction of Colonel Baillie's force by Haidar Ali. The repulse of Lake in person at the siege of Bhartpur (Bhurt-pore) is memorable as an instance of a British army in India having to turn back with its object unaccomplished (1805). Bhartpur was not finally taken till 1827.
- Later disasters, 1804-05. Lord Wellesley during his six years of office carried out almost every part of his territorial scheme. In Northern India, Lord Lake's campaigns, 1803-05, brought the North-Western Provinces (the ancient *Madhya-desha*) under British rule, together with the custody of the puppet Emperor. The new Districts were amalgamated with those previously acquired from the Nawáb Wazír of Oudh into the 'Ceded and Conquered Provinces.' This partition of Northern India remained till the Sikh wars of 1845 and 1848-49 gave us the Punjab. In South-eastern India, we have seen that Lord Wellesley's con-
- India after Lord Wellesley, 1805; in the north; in the south.

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